The People's Year Book

1922.

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AN ANNUAL OF FACTS AND FIGURES ON COOPERATIVE LABOUR AND ALLIED SUBJECTS.

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DANTE IN EXILE.

From the Painting by D. PETERLIN,

In the Gallery of Modern Art, Florence.

DANTE.

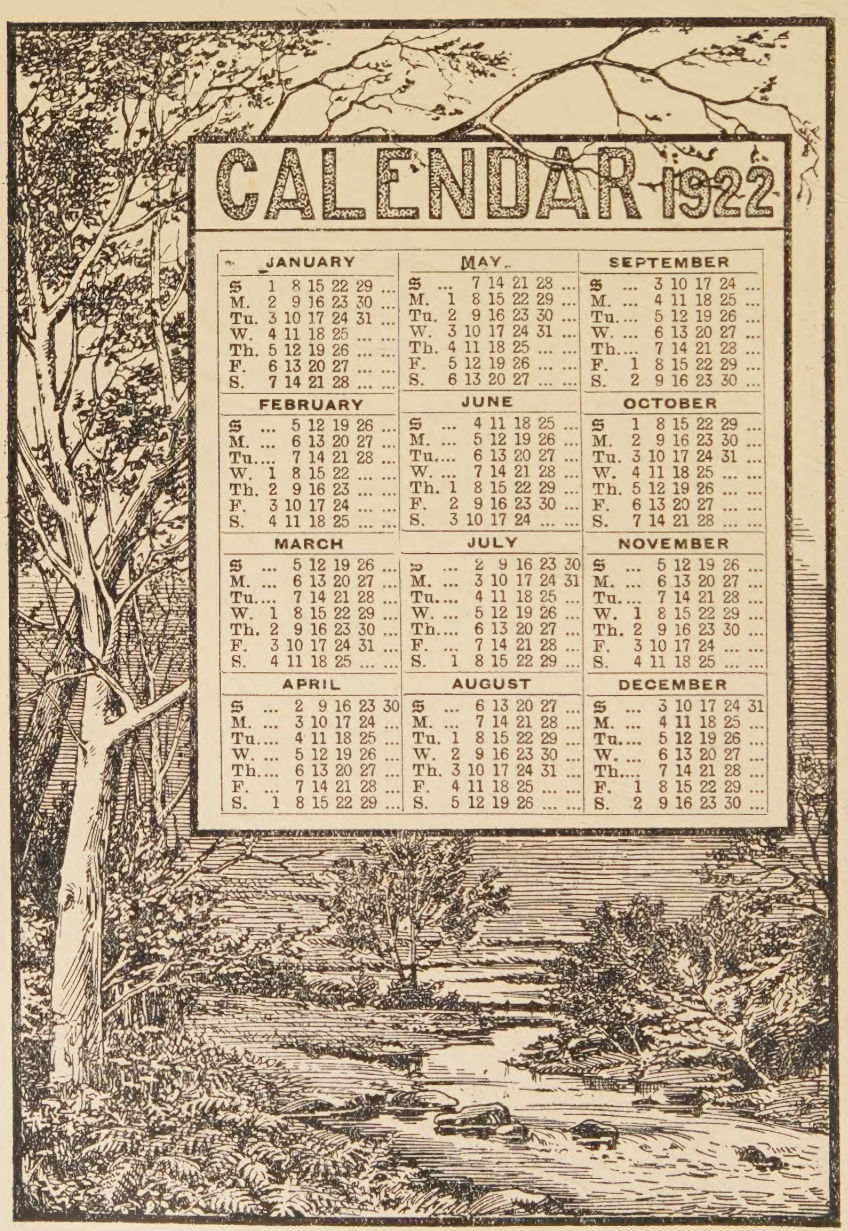
THE 14th of September last marked a period of 600 years since the death of Dante, and the climax of the commemorations of the great poet, held in Italy and echoed throughout Europe and the civilised world.

Like our English Milton in this, Dante Alighieri was a citizen at heart even before he was a poet. That is to say, though poetry was his first love, whenever the possibility existed he was a citizen first of all. Born in Florence in May, 1265, the young Dante was a soldier at 25, sharing the fears and exultations of battle; and his political life began soon afterwards. But his fate proved the old one of being too great—and probably too proud and unbending—for the politics of his time. Banished from Florence and refusing any return except on terms of honour, he wandered through Italy, until he found shelter at Ravenna, where he died in 1321.

"Poets," said Shelley, "learn in suffering what they teach in song." The lovely Florentine, Beatrice Portinari, was secretly loved by Dante, though almost a stranger to him at the time, when she married a banker of Florence. Three years later, in 1290, she died. Dante himself was married later; but "the most gentle Beatrice" remained the ideal of his life-long exalted passion.

With hopes that earth could not fulfil, therefore, he laboured in his last years on the immortal poem of the *Divine Comedy*, tracing into the depths of hell evil men whom he had seen and known, yet rising thence to purgatory and paradise, led by the angel spirit of Beatrice. To-day, even in an English translation, the three books, *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*, can hardly fail to impress the least poetic reader by their vividness and force.

P. R.



CALENDAR 1922

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DECEMBER						
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THE PEOPLE'S
YEAR BOOK

AND

ANNUAL OF THE ENGLISH & SCOTTISH
WHOLESALE SOCIETIES

1922

A VOLUME OF SPECIFIC INFORMATION
PREPARED BY THE
CO-OPERATIVE PRESS AGENCY

FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

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PREFACE.

THIS, the fifth issue of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK AND ANNUAL, of the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies (new series), is presented in a style a little different from its predecessors. To give the volume a more presentable appearance (or so it would seem to us), we decided to reproduce the letterpress on antique paper, which is practically new to co-operative publications, and also to introduce intaglio illustrations, for the production of which we now possess a special plant. We trust that these changes will commend themselves to our readers.

This year we have also fixed a uniform price, instead of having, as previously, two prices and two editions, one in paper covers and the other in cloth. The price has been estimated according to actual costs of production, and as printing charges are reduced, or get nearer pre-war margins, we hope to be able to issue the YEAR BOOK even at a more popular price.

In the present volume we have devoted considerable space to co-operative trade at home and abroad. The possibilities of international trading have received, recently, very particular attention, and form the special feature of the publication this year. The subject of international trading is now being discussed in most co-operative assemblies in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, as well as in the genuine co-operative centres of America. Interest in it will, no doubt, be continued. We concluded, therefore, that to bring together, in a series of consecutive pages, the opinions of co-operative leaders in various countries, also information respecting the productive capacity of Wholesale Societies, would provide a very useful contribution to a controversy which we all hope will lead to a sound, practical, international co-operative trading organisation, with more power behind it, in due course, with regard to peace and economic adjustment, than any other force in the world.

Whilst the articles we have used in this issue of the YEAR BOOK indicate the difficulties which have yet to be surmounted, and show that the process of development will not be too rapid, they provide helpful and thoughtful material for all who are anxious to see the establishment of a widely-organised system of international trade in co-operative commodities.

Besides this prominent feature of the 1922 edition, there is a large variety of other contributions and statistics on many subjects of direct interest to all who are anxious to know something about world problems. The proceedings of Labour and Co-operative Congresses of the year, national and international, are ably summarised, and the customary attention has been devoted to trade, prices, wages, finance, economics, politics, and other matters of interest both to the public and the student of social questions.

THE EDITOR.

UNDER THE LAUREL.

"Their bodies are buried in peace: but their name liveth for evermore."

During the year 1922, anniversaries of births, deaths, and events will fall as under:—

500 years ago, 1422—
William Caxton b., first English printer; d. 1491.

350 years ago, 1572—
John Knox, d., reformer and preacher; b. 1505.

300 years ago, 1622—
Jean B. Molière b., French comic dramatist; d. 1673.

250 years ago, 1672—
Joseph Addison, b. May 1st, dramatist and poet: d. June 6th, 1719.

200 years ago, 1722—
Duke of Marlborough d., June 16th: victor of Blenheim: b. June 24th, 1650.

150 years ago, 1772—
Brindley, James, d., civil engineer; b. 1716.
Cary, Henry Francis, b. Dec. 6th, Dante's translator: d. Aug. 14th, 1844.
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, b. Oct. 21st, poet; d. June 25th, 1834.
Congreve, Sir Wm., b., invented war rockets; d. 1828.
Ricardo, David, b. April 19th, famous economist: d. Sept. 11th, 1823.
Senefelder, Aloys, b., inventor of lithography; d. 1834.
Stevenson, Robt., b., lighthouse specialist; d. 1850.
Swedenborg, Emanuel, d., divine; b. 1868.

100 years ago, 1822.—Births.—
Arnold, Matthew, b. Dec. 24th, poet; d. April 15th, 1888.
Bonheur, Rosa, French animal painter; d. 1899.
Boucicault, Dion, dramatist; d. 1890.
Cobbe, Francis Power, writer and reformer; d. 1904.
Galton, Sir Francis, eugenist; d. 1911.
Goodall, Frederick, R.A., painter of Eastern subjects; d. 1904.
Grant, Ulysses S., American general and President; d. 1885.
Grigorovich, Demetrius Vasilevich, Russian artist and novelist; d. 1899.
Linton, Mrs. E. Lynn, novelist; d. 1898.
Maine, Sir Henry, jurisconsulte; d. 1888.
Masson, David, Scotch writer and professor; d. 1907.
Morley, Henry, English writer and professor; d. 1894.
Palmer, Sir C. M., shipping magnate; d. 1897.
Pasteur, Louis, French chemist and scientist; d. 1895.
Rogers, J. Guinness, religious leader; d. 1911.
Wallace, Alfred Russel, naturalist; d. 1913.

Deaths—Castlereagh, Lord, notorious statesman; b. 1769.
Herschel, Sir F. W., astronomer; b. 1738.
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, poet and reformer; b. 1792.

50 years ago, 1872.—Births—
Beerbohm, Max, critic and caricaturist.
Ranjitsinhji, Kumar Shri, cricketer and Jam of Nawanagar.
Smith, F. E., Lord Chancellor.

Deaths—Bamford, Sam, reformer; b. 1788.
Bowring, Sir John, linguist, traveller, writer; b. 1792.
Greeley, Horace, American journalist; b. 1811.
Lever, Chas. Jas., novelist; b. 1806.
Maurice, F. Denison, Christian socialist and co-operator; b. 1805.
Mazzini, Giuseppe, Italian patriot; b. 1805.
Morse, Sam Finley B., inventor of Morse code; b. 1791.
Somerville, Mary, scientist; b. 1780.

OBITUARY, 1921.

JANUARY.

1. Miss Mary Macarthur (Mrs. W. C. Anderson), a notable leader of the Women's Trade Unionist movement.
2. Herr Von Bethman Hollweg, formerly German Imperial Chancellor.
19. Professor Wilhelm Förster, German astronomer.

FEBRUARY.

8. Prince Peter Kropotkin, Russian explorer, revolutionist and scientist.

MARCH.

1. Ex-King Nicholas of Montenegro.
12. Lady Henry Somerset, temperance reformer.
29. John Burrows, American naturalist.

APRIL.

11. German ex-Empress. 12. Wm. Strang, R.A.

MAY.

22. Lady Bancroft, actress.
25. M. Emile Combes, French Premier in the years 1902-5.
27. Miss M. A. Czaplicka, ethnologist.

JUNE.

5. Will Crooks, Labour M.P. for Woolwich for many years.
10. Sr. Louis Drago, originator of the Drago doctrine of International law.
29. Lady Randolph Churchill (Mrs. Porch).

JULY.

6. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, ex-Cabinet Minister.
13. Miss Sarah Emily Davies, one of the founders of Girton College, Cambridge.
31. T. J. Ryan, acting leader of the Australian Federal Labour Party, and ex-Premier of Queensland.

AUGUST.

1. Lord Reay, ex-Governor of Bombay.
   Signor Caruso, the world-famous tenor.
16. Peter I., King of Serbia.
19. M. Rhallis, ex-Premier of Greece.
26. Austin Dobson, poet.
26. Herr Erzberger, German ex-Minister of Finance.

SEPTEMBER.

3. Lydia Yavorska (Princess Bariatinsky), Russian actress.

NOVEMBER.

23. H. M. Hyndman, founder and leader of the orthodox Marxian movement in Great Britain.

DECEMBER.

9. Sir Arthur Pearson, Founder of "Pearson's Weekly" and the "Daily Express;" also Founder of St. Dunstan's Home and President of the National Institute for the Blind.
11. Lord Halsbury, ex-Lord Chancellor.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

THE Peace Treaty foreshadowing the establishment of the Irish Free State ranks as the outstanding event of the year 1921, and as the most important event in the history of Anglo-Irish relations.

By the terms of the Treaty (signed in the small hours of the morning of December 6th after a day and a night of discussion and after negotiations occupying nearly six months) Ireland will become a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, with the rank of an equal in constitutional status to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and (apart from certain provisos) with a position in relation to the Imperial government analogous to that of the Dominion of Canada.

In conformity with the terms of the Treaty the members of the Irish Parliament will take the oath of allegiance to the Irish Free State as well as to the King, whilst the Irish Free State will assume liability for an equitable proportion of the public debt of the United Kingdom (and of war pensions also), and will afford definite defence facilities to the Imperial forces which will undertake the naval defence of Ireland and Great Britain pending arrangements whereby the Irish Free State may undertake its own coastal defence. As regards the military defence force of the Free State, this is to be kept within the limits determined by the proportion of the State population and by the scale of armaments in Great Britain in relation to the population thereof.

Ulster is left free to choose between the two alternatives of joining the Irish Free State and retaining the right of Ulster Home Rule, or of holding aloof and having her boundaries revised.

By the terms of the Treaty neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any laws infringing on religious freedom.

For the rest, it may be said (at the moment of writing these lines) that all now depends on the ratification of the Pact of Settlement by the Parliaments of Great Britain and Southern Ireland, and in this regard the omens seem favourable, malcontents notwithstanding. The Pact of Settlement once ratified, then will follow the arrangements for transferring to the Provisional government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties pending the constitution of a Parliament and a government of the Irish Free State, which for Ireland in 1922 will be the supreme event, proclaiming, as it will, that the aspiration of centuries has become realised and that for Ireland and the Irish people a new era begins. As for the gain to Great Britain, that may safely be left to the verdict of time and experience, inasmuch as the historic results achieved in Canada and South Africa have long ago conclusively proved that justice is the best policy and the wisest statesmanship.

The Irish Peace Settlement.

1. Lord Birkenhead. (Lord Chancellor)

2. Rt Hon. Austen Chamberlain. M.P.

3. Rt Hon. Winston Churchill. M.P.

5. Sir L. Worthington Evans. Bt M.P.

4. Rt Hon. D. Lloyd George. M.P. (Prime Minister)

6. Sir Hamar Greenwood M.P.

7. Sir Gordon Hewart. M.P. (Attorney General)

Signators to the Treaty for Great Britain.

Central News

THE IRISH PEACE SETTLEMENT: THE SINN FEIN DELEGATION

Seated (left to right): Mr. ARTHUR GRIFFITH, Mr. R. C. BARTON, Mr. E. J. DUGGAN, Mr. G. GAVAN DUFFY and Mr. ERSKINE CHILDERS.
Standing: Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, Mr. FINIAN LYNCH, Mr. JOHN CHARTERIS, and Mr. A. O'BRIEN.

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CO-OPERATORS
OF
SCOTLAND

Unless you are prepared to keep your own

Mills, Factories, and Workshops Fully Employed

you cannot expect to derive the full measure of benefit to which your courage and enterprise entitles you.

LOYALTY is the sure, safe, and only route to the earnestly wished for

Co-operative Commonwealth

NEW PICTURES FOR THE NATION.

DURING the past year two great pictures, one English, the other Flemish, have been secured for the nation.

The first is Millais's *Christ in the House of His Parents*, a picture which aroused much controversy at the time of its exhibition in the Royal Academy of 1850. Public opinion was not ready for its originality and naturalness. Even Dickens called it "mean, odious, repulsive, and revolting." Yet two of the fashionable artists of the day recognised and championed its worth. The picture was sold at the time for £150. Now it has been bought for £10,000, that sum being also offered by the Melbourne Gallery, Australia.

The artist's father was the model for the head of Joseph, and the rest of the carpenter's figure was painted from a carpenter of 1849, studied in his workshop. Details were thus taken from life, although the conception of the wonder child and his pierced hand and all the great composition, were fruits of the artist's imagination, working upon actual life. Millais's love of colour remains expressed in the rich blues and crimsons of the garments, and the glimpse of garden and country through the open door; while there is subtlety in such details as the drop of blood from the Child's hand making a tiny crimson stain on the foot below. The picture hangs in London, in the Tate Gallery, which faces the Thames at Grosvenor Road, Westminster.

THE second picture, *The Adoration of the Magi*, has come to us through the war, having been sold from distressed Vienna to a Swiss connoisseur and thence to the National Gallery trustees, who have been enabled to purchase it for £15,000. The artist, Pieter Breughel, was a Fleming, born in 1525. The son of a peasant, he became a member of the Antwerp Academy, and died in 1569. The picture, now in the Gallery at Trafalgar Square, is remarkable for its realistic, ironic study of types.

P. R.

CHRIST IN THE HOUSE OF HIS PARENTS.

FROM THE PICTURE BY MILLAIS,

Now acquired for the National Gallery of British Art (Tate Gallery), London.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

From the Picture by PIETER BREUGHEL (1525-1569).

Now in the National Gallery, London.

STATISTICS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

THE position of the industrial co-operative movement in the United Kingdom at the end of the second decade of the twentieth century is displayed by the figures of the Co-operative Union, whose affiliated organisations at the close of 1920 embraced 4,600,000 members, possessed share and loan capital to the amount of £114,600,000, had a trade turnover of £404,000,000 and a net surplus of £27,000,000; gave employment to over 200,000 persons, and paid in wages and salaries something like £30,000,000 collectively.

In the matter of increases 1920 has proved a record year as regards membership, trading figures, and surplus, and wages, inasmuch as there has been an increase of 377,000 in the collective membership of organisations, an increase of nearly £80,000,000 in trading figures, an increase of practically £5,200,000 in the total net surplus, and an increase of practically £8,700,000 in the collective total paid in wages and salaries. In two items alone the increases failed to establish a new record—in the matter of share and loan capital, which increased by nearly £16,000,000, and the number of employees, which increased by 14,000. Despite the substantial character of the augmentation in these two particulars, it chances to have been outstripped by the augmentation recorded in 1919, when the increase in share and loan capital reached the abnormal total of over £18,300,000 and the increase in the number of employees was over 23,000. Meantime, it may be noted that the respective increases in 1920 work out as follows: Increase in the collective membership of affiliated organisations, 9 per cent; in share and loan capital, 16 per cent; in sales figures, 24·4 per cent; in the net surplus, 23·7 per cent; in the collective total of employees, 7·4 per cent; and in the collective sum of wages and salaries, 41·3 per cent.

Taking now a retrospective glance at the series of years from 1913 to 1920, we find the march of affairs proclaimed by the increase of 1,547,921 in the membership of organisations; of £59,649,094 in share and loan capital; of £274,108,256 in the matter of sales; of £12,732,982 in net surplus; of 57,355 in the collective total of co-operative employees; and of £21,143,493 in the sum total of wages and salaries. Worked out in percentages, the increases figure as follows: Membership, 51·4 per cent; share and loan capital, 108·6 per cent; sales, 210·8 per cent; net surplus, 89·2 per cent; employees, 39·9 per cent; wages and salaries, 249 per cent.

With this prelude we may now refer the reader to the Co-operative Union's official statistics, as given in the following table :—

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION STATISTICS FOR 1920.

Class.	Number of Societies.	Number of Members.	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.	Number of Employees.	Salaries and Wages.
			£	£	£		£
Distributive Societies	1,379	4,504,852	86,553,168	254,158,144	25,458,555	138,955	19,978,118
,, Federations	5	61	44,145	193,695	13,405	34	4,693
Productive Societies	105	42,855	2,788,573	9,222,699	539,733	11,873	1,673,461
Supply Associations ..	4	8,525	486,997	2,486,662	61,434	1,687	282,145
Special Societies	5	899	89,898	1,412,892	10,600	1,490	162,650
Wholesale Societies ..	3	2,119	24,605,694	136,670,058	909,669	47,470	7,533,874
Totals, 1920 ..	1,501	4,559,311	114,568,475	404,144,150	26,993,396	201,509	29,634,941
,, 1919 ..	1,467	4,182,019	98,801,231	324,781,079	21,809,563	187,535	20,962,169
,, 1918 ..	1,474	3,894,999	80,473,150	248,983,685	17,702,567	164,383	14,734,284
,, 1917 ..	1,478	3,835,376	69,355,148	224,913,795	18,194,600	162,503	12,086,853
,, 1916 ..	1,481	3 566,241	67,348,808	197,295,322	19,150,021	158,715	10,838,075
,, 1915 ..	1,497	3,310,524	62,230,430	165,034,195	17,003,956	155,379	9,928,926
,, 1914 ..	1,511	3,188,140	57,809,566	138,473,025	15,204,098	148,264	9,213,464
,, 1913 ..	1,508	3,011,390	54,919,381	130,035,894	14,260,414	144,154	8 491,448

To the table given above the following annual figures of increase will serve as an illuminating appendix :—

FIGURES OF INCREASE FOR THE PERIOD 1914–1920.

Year.	Membership of Organisations.	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.	Employees.	Wages and Salaries.
		£	£	£		£
1914..	176,750	2,890,185	8,437,131	943,684	4,110	722,016
1915..	122,384	4,420,864	26,561,170	1,799,858	7,115	715,462
1916..	255,717	5,118,378	32,261,127	2,146,065	3,336	909,149
1917..	269,135	2,006,340	27,617,473	*955,421	3,708	1,248,788
1918..	59,623	11,118,002	24,065,890	492,033	1,880	2,647,431
1919..	287,020	18,328,081	75,797,394	4,106,996	23,152	6,227,885
1920..	377,292	15,767,244	79,363,071	5,183,833	13,974	8,672,772

* Decrease.

RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES.

From the Co-operative Union's organisations as a whole we now turn to the component sections, and in the first place to the Retail Distributive Societies, numbering (at the end of 1920) 1,379 and possessing 4,504,852 members, £86,553,168 of share and loan capital, effecting £254,158,144 in sales turnover and £25,458,555 of net surplus, and employing 138,955 persons, and paying wages and salaries to the amount of £19,978,118. For the three geographical areas of the United Kingdom the figures are as follows :—

The Distribution of Distributive Societies, 1920.

	Number of Societies.	Membership.	Share and Loan Capital	Sales.	Net Surplus.
			£	£	£
England & Wales	1,062	3,797,666	72,625,793	197,742,081	18,536,485
,, ,, (1919)	1,051	3,477,056	62,197,822	155,551,726	14,933,244
,, ,, (1918)	1,055	3,239,702	51,109,501	121,174,847	12,319,269
Scotland	264	662,294	13,356,303	54,034,963	6,782,492
,, (1919)	258	617,069	11,735,613	41,544,195	—
,, (1918)	261	575,385	9,947,149	32,654,903	—
Ireland	53	44,892	571,072	2,381,100	139,578
,, (1919)	48	37,352	477,871	1,834,516	101,880
,, (1918)	48	31,444	338,058	1,328,213	77,771
Total (1920)	1,379	4,504,852	86,553,168	254,158,144	25,458,555
,, (1919)	1,357	4,131,477	74,411,306	198,930,437	20,390,833
,, (1918)	1,364	3,816,531	61,394,708	155,157,963	16,495,645

The increases in the respective geographical areas have been as follows :—

Increase in England and Wales : 320,610 in membership, or 9·2 per cent ; £10,427,971 in loan and share capital, or 16·7 per cent ; £42,190,355 in sales, or 27·1 per cent ; £3,603,241 in net surplus, or 24·1 per cent.

Increase in Scotland : 45,225 in membership, or 7·3 per cent ; £1,620,690 in share and loan capital, or 13·8 per cent ; £12,490,768 in sales, or 30 per cent ; £1,426,783 in net surplus, or 26·6 per cent.

Increase in Ireland : 7,540 in membership, or 20 per cent ; £93,201 in share and loan capital, or 19·5 per cent ; £546,584 in sales, or 29·8 per cent ; £37,698 in net surplus, or 37 per cent.

For the United Kingdom as a whole the total increase amounts to 373,375 in membership, or 9 per cent ; to £12,141,862 in loan and share capital, or 16·3 per cent ; to £55,227,707 in sales, or 27·7 per cent ; and to £5,067,722 in net surplus, or 24·8 per cent.

Passing from the development in 1920 to the development since the pre-war year the following increases during the period 1913-1920 may be noted, viz., 1,626,204 in membership (56·1 per cent), £43,951,403 in share and loan capital (103·1 per cent), £170,567,770 in sales (204 per cent), £12,607,252 in net surplus (98·1 per cent), 35,503 in the number of employees (34·3 per cent), and £14,074,175 in wages and salaries (238·3 per cent).

RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES, 1913–19.

Year.	Number of Societies.	Total Membership.	Share and Loan Capital.	Sales.	Net Surplus.	Total of Employees, Dist. and Prod.	Total Salaries and Wages.
			£	£	£		£
1913..	1,387	2,878,648	42,601,765	83,590,374	12,851,303	103,452	5,903,943
1914..	1,390	3.054,297	46,317,939	87,964,229	13,501.825	103,074	6,319,967
1915..	1,375	3,264,811	48,848,596	102,557,779	14,960,086	109.449	6,749,725
1916..	1,362	3,520,227	53,322,352	121,688,550	16,335,079	115,651	7,452,616
1917..	1,366	3,788,490	55,746,493	142,003,612	15,916,591	118,716	8,465,663
1918..	1,364	3,846,531	61,394,708	155,157,963	16,495,645	119 629	10,246,932
1919..	1,357	4,131,477	74,411,306	198,930,437	20,390,833	130,621	14,219.320
1920..	1,379	4,504,852	86,553,168	254,158,144	25,458,555	138,955	19,978,118

In 1920 the societies possessed (in addition to their share and loan capital of £86,553,168) reserve funds amounting collectively to £5,539,244, as compared with £4,897,259 in 1919 and £4,343,272 in 1918. The value of the stock in trade in 1920 amounted to £36,370,314, as compared with £30,955,504 in 1919 and £23,488,587 in 1918. The value of the land, buildings, machinery and fixed stock in 1920 amounted to £21,056,125, as compared with £16,933,955 in 1919 and £15,247,115 in 1918. The total investments in 1920 amounted to £45,158,332, as compared with £40,632,178 in 1919 and £34,202,902 in 1918.

Before taking leave of the retail societies, one question, however, remains to be answered, viz.: Have members' purchases, on the average, kept pace with the rising price scale? To this query the figures return a negative answer. For example:—

	£	s.	d.
In 1914 the average purchases per member amounted to	28	16	0
In 1920 the average purchases per member amounted to	56	8	4
Increase	£27	12	4

The increase works out at nearly 95 per cent.

But between July, 1914, and July, 1920, the cost of living (according to the government statistics) had risen by 152 per cent; and had the co-operative store members' purchases advanced on the same scale, they would have amounted at least to £72. 11s., or £16. 2s. 6d. more than they actually did.

PRODUCTIVE SOCIETIES
(EXCLUSIVE OF THE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES).

The Productive Societies (exclusive of the Wholesales), numbering 105 in 1920, had a total membership of nearly 43,000, and practically £2,800,000 in share and loan capital; while their sales exceeded £9,200,000, their net surplus approximated to £540,000, their employees numbered nearly 12,000, and the collective sum paid in wages and salaries amounted to £1,700,000 in round figures. As compared with 1919, this means an increase of 3,524 in membership, or 8·9

per cent; an increase of £489,008 in share and loan capital, or 21·2 per cent; an increase of £2,175,552 in sales figures, or 30·8 per cent; an increase of £52,451 in net surplus, or 10·7 per cent; an increase of 798 in the employed staff, or 7·2 per cent; and an increase of £441,334 in wages and salaries, or 35·8 per cent.

The comparative figures for the period 1913-20 are shown in the following table:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Membership.	Share and Loan Capital.	Trade.	Surplus.	Number of Employees.	Wages.
			£	£	£		£
1913....	108	34,662	1,701,033	3,710,234	253,014	10,442	596,380
1914....	108	36,880	1,822,349	3,800,627	276,792	10,725	613,555
1915....	103	34,912	1,688,118	3,860,052	316,896	10,657	634,921
1916....	101	35,142	1,771,604	4,461,491	333,842	10,284	732,106
1917....	97	36,358	1,804,954	5,146,459	359,740	10,038	766,846
1918....	95	37,393	1,974,479	5,714,041	398,602	9,745	912,785
1919....	95	39,331	2,299,565	7,047,147	487,282	11,075	1,232,127
1920....	105	42,855	2,788,573	9,222,699	539,733	11,873	1,673,461

Thus for the period 1913-20 the figures reveal the following increases: In membership, 8,193, or 23·6 per cent; in share and loan capital, £1,087,540, or 63·9 per cent; in sales, £5,512,465, or 148·5 per cent; in net surplus, £286,719, or 113·7 per cent; in employees, 1,431, or 13·7 per cent; and in wages and salaries, £1,077,081, or 180·6 per cent.

Supply Associations.

Next come the Supply Associations, whose figures may be left to speak for themselves:—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Membership.	Share and Loan Capital.	Trade.	Surplus.	Workers.	Wages.
			£	£	£		£
1913 ..	4	95,061	563,240	2,078,661	49,231	1,956	179,688
1914 ..	4	95,117	572,010	2,030,245	41,470	2,099	183,528
*1915 ..	4	8,473	483,951	3,280,360	54,151	1,799	172,167
1916 ..	4	8,560	435,239	3,402,308	92,328	1,661	196,866
1917 ..	3	8,282	438,388	†1,712,718	58,602	1,816	164,195
1918 ..	3	8,349	452,055	1,763,450	58,122	1,805	177,841
1919 ..	3	8,351	472,089	2,238,312	74,405	1,732	252,292
1920 ..	4	8,525	486,997	2,486,662	61,434	1,687	282,145

* Decrease in membership is accounted for by the omission of the Agricultural and Horticultural Association (*in* liquidation), and also by the omission from the membership of the Civil Service Supply Association of the ticket holders.

† Decrease in trade is due to the taking over of the Canteen and Mess Society by the Government.

The Co-operative Wholesale Societies.

As indicated on a previous page, the three Co-operative Wholesales, collectively, had in 1920 a society membership of 2,119, a share and loan capital of £24,605,694; while the collective sales figured at

£136,670,058, the net surplus at £909,669, the number of employees at 47,470, and the total wages and salaries at £7,533,874. These figures, compared with those of 1919, signify the following increases: In share and loan capital, £3,116,629, or 14·5 per cent; in sales, £21,212,894, or 18·4 per cent; in net surplus, £115,671, or 14·6 per cent; in the number of employees, 4,550, or 10·6 per cent; and in wages and salaries, £2,384,736, or 46·3 per cent.

If we take the English and Scottish Wholesales (apart from the Irish Agricultural Wholesale) and compare the figures for 1920 with those of 1913, we find the following increases: In share and loan capital, £14,309,313, or 142·8 per cent; in sales, £94,662,933, or 234·7 per cent; in the total of employees, 14,599, or 49·2 per cent; and in the amount paid in wages and salaries, £5,708,760, or 319 per cent. The only exception to these increases is in the net surplus, which showed a decrease of £545,865, or 55·8 per cent.

The English Co-operative Wholesale.

Taking now the three Wholesales in rotation, we find that the English Co-operative Wholesale, which in 1920 comprised 1,222 societies, possessed £18,530,596 in share and loan capital, did a trade of £105,439,628, had a net surplus of £159,470, employed 36,391 persons, and paid wages and salaries to the amount of £5,954,867. Compared with 1919, the above figures signify the following increases, viz., in share and loan capital, £2,758,041, or 7·5 per cent; in sales, £16,090,310, or 18 per cent; in employees, 1,186, or 3·7 per cent; and in wages and salaries, £1,912,510, or 47·3 per cent. On the other hand, there was a decrease of £88,698 in net surplus, or 35·7 per cent.

Taking now the figures for 1920 and comparing them with those for 1913, we find the following record of increases: In society membership, 54, or 4·6 per cent; in share and loan capital, £12,209,833, or 193·2 per cent; in sales, £74,067,652, or 236 per cent; in employees, 15,397, or 73·3 per cent; and in wages and salaries, £4,571,613, or 330 per cent. On the other hand, the net surplus showed a diminution of £476,649, a sum equivalent to 74·9 per cent.

Year.	Society Members.	Share and Loan Capital.	Wholesale Distributive Trade.	Net Surplus.	Number of Workers.†	Wages.
		£	£	£		£
1913.....	1,168	6,320,763	31,371,976	636,119	20,994	1,383,254
1914.....	1,193	6,301,017	34,910,813	840,069	23,190	1,539,354
1915.....	1,195	6,641,598	43,101,747	1,086,962	23,924	1,777,406
1916.....	1,189	7,109,291	52,230,074	1,519,005	22,215	1,819,727
1917.....	1,192	6,937,325	57,710,133	1,315,155	22,777	1,983,809
1918.....	1,200	11,896,941	65,167,960	160,538	24,100	2,529,137
1919.....	1,209	15,772,555	89,349,318	248,168	32,205	4,042,357
1920.....	1,222	*18,530,596	105,439,628	159,470	36,391	5,954,867

* Share capital, £4,270,408, and Loan capital £14,260,188.
† Exclusive of C.W.S. employees abroad.

Finance.—It may be noted that in addition to its share and loan capital of £24 the C.W.S. has other funds which in 1920 brought the financial resources of the society up to £27,844,322, as compared with £23,640,717 in 1919.

Production.—In 1920 the C.W.S. Productive Works supplies figured at £33,404,466, as compared with £25,885,030 in 1919, £17,729,568 in 1918, £18,581,553 in 1917, £16,263,500 in 1916, and £12,812,956 in 1915. The increase in the C.W.S. production figure in 1920 amounted to £7,519,436, or 29 per cent above the amount for the year previous.

The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale.

In 1920 the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale comprised 272 societies and possessed £5,795,895 in share and loan capital. Its Wholesale distributive sales figured at £29,559,314 and its net surplus at £271,514. It employed 10,889 persons and paid in wages and salaries the sum of £1,542,962. These amounts, when compared with the figures for 1919, signify the following increases: In share and loan capital, £277,685, or 5 per cent; in sales, £4,770,274, or 19·2 per cent; in the number of employees, 364, or 3·4 per cent; and wages and salaries, £461,109, or 42·6 per cent. On the other hand the net surplus has decreased by £265,148, or 49·4 per cent.

Comparing 1920 with 1913, we find the following increases, viz., £2,099,480 in share and loan capital, or 56·8 per cent; £20,595,281 in trade, or 229·7 per cent; 2,202 in the number of employees, or 25·3 per cent; and £1,137,147 in wages and salaries, or 280·2 per cent. On the other hand there is a diminution of the net surplus by £69,216, or 20·2 per cent.

Year.	Society Members.	Share and Loan Capital.	Wholesale Distributive Trade.	Net Surplus.	Number of Workers.	Wages.	Bonus.
		£	£	£		£	£
1913	268	3,696,415	8,964,033	340,730	8,685	405,815	16,583
1914	266	4,130,170	9,425,383	393,115	8,877	530,378	18,783
1915	264	4,464,633	11,363,075	456,516	9,103	554,634	13,017
1916	262	4,564,637	14,502,410	501,531	8,307	593,165	12,614
1917	263	4,257,818	17,079,842	500,915	8,522	655,874	10,016
1918	261	4,546,296	19,519,485	547,993	8,324	797,510	9,348
1919	266	5,518,210	24,789,040	536,662	10,523	1,081,853	10,024
1920	272	5,795,895	29,549,314	271,514	10,887	1,542,962	—

Finance.—It may be noted that the financial resources of the Scottish Wholesale, including share and loan capital, reserves, and insurance fund, came in 1920 to a total of £7,165,486, as compared with £6,755,355 in 1919.

Production.—In 1920 the output of S.C.W.S. products amounted to £9,804,864, as compared with £7,823,535 in 1919, £5,492,528 in 1918, £6,294,857 in 1917, and £4,708,103 in 1916.

Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society.

The figures of the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society denote continuous progress.

Year.	Membership.	Share and Loan Capital.	Wholesale Distributive Trade.	Surplus.	Number of Workers.	Total Wages.
		£	£	£		£
1915.....	327	28,225	375,379	3,141	81	5,400
1916.....	381	65,518	479,877	4,989	100	6,854
1917.....	453	83,187	651,567	5,577	125	10,730
1918.....	511	116,461	914,242	7,527	156	17,109
1919.....	588	*198,300	1,318,806	9,168	192	24,928
1920.....	625	279,203	1,671,116	9,218	192	36,045

* Plus Reserve Funds of £13,007.

CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

Number of Co-operative Employees in 1920 and the Six Previous Years.

Year.	Total Workers.	Engaged in				Wages.	
		Production.		Distribution.			
		Number.	Per cent. of Total.	Number.	Per cent. of Total.	Productive.	Distributive.
						£	£
1914.....	148,264	63,275	42·68	84,989	57·32	3,984,783	5,228,681
1915.....	155,379	66,486	42·79	88,893	57·21	4,269,017	5,659,909
1916.....	158,715	62,401	39·32	96,314	60·68	4,546,874	6,291,201
1917.....	162,503	61,404	37·79	101,099	62·21	4,876,614	7,210 239
1918.....	164,383	62,401	37·96	101,982	62·04	5,915,251	8,819,030
1919.....	187,535	78,483	41·85	109,052	58·15	8,797,891	12,164 278
1920.....	201,509	87,008	43·18	114,501	56·82	12,746,347	16,888,594

By taking the total of employees in connection with the collective membership of retail distributive societies, we find in what proportion the movement is employing its own members. The percentage works out as follows: 1914, 4·85 per cent; 1915, 4·76 per cent; 1916, 4·51 per cent; 1917, 4·29 per cent; 1918, 4·27 per cent; 1919, 4·53 per cent; and 1920, 4·48 per cent of all stores goers; and 4·54 per cent of actual stores membership.

CO-OPERATIVE DIARY, 1921.

JANUARY.

3. C.W.S. Abattoir opened at Whalley (Lancs.).

8. Elections to the C.W.S. Board of Directors announced as follows :— *Manchester District :* T. J. Henson, (re-elected), J. Penny (Sheffield) elected to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of W. Hemingway. *Newcastle District :* W. Clayton (re-elected). *London District :* Sir T. W. Allen (re-elected).

8. Quarterly Branch and Divisional Meetings of the C.W.S.

15. C.W.S. Quarterly General Meeting in Manchester. Resolutions carried with regard to the Grocery and Provisions Trade Board and in favour of International Trading. Motion objecting to the connection of the C.W.S. with Employers' Federation defeated. Amendments to Rules carried.

17. Opening of C.W.S. Dairy at Chaigeley, near Clitheroe (Lancs.).

FEBRUARY.

1. C.W.S. enters into possession of the Imperial Rope Works, Patricroft, acquired for the sum of £87,000.

12. Special Meeting (in Manchester) of the United Board of the Co-operative Union.

MARCH.

7. Several C.W.S. Depts. go on short time owing to the depression in trade.

12. Meeting (in Manchester) of the United Board of the Co-operative Union.

12. Quarterly Meeting (in Glasgow) of the Scottish Wholesale Society. Reduction of dividend from 5d. to 2d. owing to state of trade.

19. Specially convened Meeting of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union turns down the proposals of the Income Tax Committee on the Corporation Profits Tax.

26. C.W.S. sales for March quarter amount to £21,291,567 ; a decrease of £3,384,694 (compared with the corresponding period of the year previous) owing to depression of trade.

APRIL.

2. Meeting of Central Board of the Co-operative Union : Official business for the Scarborough Congress dealt with.

2. Quarterly Branch and Divisional Meetings of the C.W.S. Directors' recommendations of 1d. dividend carried against Eccles amendment by 1,487 votes to 494.

2. C.W.S. Election results as declared : *Manchester District :* W. R. Blair and F. Denman (re-elected). *Newcastle District :* T. Adams (re-elected). *London District :* A. W. Golightly (re-elected.) *Auditor :* John Smith (re-elected).

9. C.W.S. General Quarterly Meeting in Manchester ; record attendance of over 1,200. Eccles amendment *re* dividend withdrawn consequent on the vote at the Branch Meetings on April 2nd.

—. Special National Co-operative Conference held at Westminster to consider the report and recommendations of the Special Committee on Taxation ; 850 delegates being present and Alderman F. Hayward presiding. Conference declares for the abolition of all direct taxation on trade, and also for the complete exemption of co-operative surpluses on mutual trading if the Corporation Profits Tax be maintained. The Conference further advises societies to resist payment of the tax within the utmost limits of the law, a recommendation to societies to refuse to pay the Corporation Profits Tax being rejected. The Conference also passes a resolution of protest "against the action of the Treasury in proscribing the admission of our specially-trained accountants to the list of public auditors if they are not members of the Institutes of Chartered Accountants (England, Scotland, or Ireland) or of the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors, and in setting up as a national standard the certificates of membership of private associations and thus introducing a professional bar into the free working of our societies."

12–14. Meeting in Copenhagen of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance. The Committee revises the rules *re* representation and plans out a programme of work for ratification at the Alliance Congress at Basle in August.

29–30. Annual Scottish Co-operative Conference held at Aberdeen ; G. Wilson (president of the Scottish Sectional Board) presiding. Report submitted to the meeting, a record of progress. Resolutions passed with regard to Scottish Sectional Elections, the Canadian Cattle Embargo, and the Co-operative press.

MAY.

5. Meeting of the United Board of the Co-operative Union. Affairs relating to the Co-operative Party, to Ireland, to miners, &c., discussed.

14. New director of the S.C.W.S. announced: Alex. McLeod (president of the Dunfermline Society) elected to succeed the late John Bardner.
14. Meeting of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union held at Scarborough.
16—18. Fifty-third Annual Co-operative Congress held at Scarborough, with G. Major (Rotherham) presiding.
25. Second reading debate on the Finance Bill in the House of Commons. Corporation Profits Tax as applied to Co-operative Societies, opposed by A. E. Waterson, M.P., and W. Graham, M.P.

JUNE.

1. Deputation (representative of the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress) interviews the new Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir R. Horne) with regard to the application of the Corporation Profits Tax to Co-operative societies. The deputation receives no satisfaction.
14—15. Women's Co-operative Guild Congress held at Manchester with the Guild President (Mrs. Ferguson) presiding over 1,317 delegates representing 629 branches.
20. House of Commons debate on Finance Bill, re-imposing Corporation Profits Tax on Co-operative Societies. Amendments moved by A. E. Waterson (Kettering) and J. Kidd (Linlithgow) defeated.
24. Great Co-operative Exhibition at Prague (Czecho-Slovakia) organised by the Czecho-Slovak Workmen's Co-operative Association.
25. C.W.S. half year loss of £3,434,620 met by transfers from substantial funds.
29. C.W.S. election results declared as follows:—*Newcastle District:* E. J. Graham (re-elected). *London District:* A. E. Threadgill (re-elected). *Manchester District:* R. Fleming (re-elected). W. Bradshaw (Grantham) elected to succeed Duncan McInnes, retired under the age rule.

JULY.

2. C.W.S. Quarterly Divisional Meetings.
9. C.W.S. General Quarterly Meeting. The proposal for a grant of £10,000 to the Co-operative College Fund carried by 1,042 votes against 1,036.
16. Crystal Palace Co-operative Festival attended by 25,000 visitors.
18. DEFEAT OF THE GOVERNMENT on the Corporation Profits Tax; amendment carried exempting the profits or surplus arising from the trading with its own members of a society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. Amendment carried by 137 votes against 135. Government defeated by two votes.

AUGUST.

22. International Co-operative Alliance Congress at Basle (Switzerland).

SEPTEMBER.

10. Meeting of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union.
10. S.C.W.S. Quarterly Meeting held in Glasgow.

OCTOBER.

1. Results of elections to the C.W.S. Board of Directors as declared show the re-election of the retiring candidates and auditor.
1. C.W.S. Quarterly Divisional Meetings. Losses discussed.
6. First of a Series of Trade and Business Conferences (arranged by the Co-operative Union) held at Glasgow.
8. C.W.S. Quarterly General Meeting (in Manchester). Resolution adopted in favour of a committee of enquiry in connection with losses reported; resolution carried in favour of showing the details of productive works separately in the Reports; and resolution adopted with regard to canvassing in connection with C.W.S. elections.
29. Special meeting of S.C.W.S. shareholders held in Glasgow rejects the proposals for a committee of enquiry into matters connected with losses reported.
28–29. Meeting of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union. Financial matters discussed.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN IRELAND.

THE Report of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society Ltd. for the year ending March 3rd, 1920 (which was issued in 1921), gives the following figures, indicative of the progress of the agricultural co-operative movement in Ireland.

	1918.	1919.	Increase.
Total Number of Societies	950	1,028	78
Membership	117,484	135,669	17,885
Total Turnover	£9,087,668	£11,158,583	£2,070,915
Average per Society	£9,576	£10,886	£1,310
Average per Member	£77	£83	£6
Affiliation Fees	£2,297	£2,701	£414
Subscriptions	£3,837	£4,223	£385

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, 1921.

SCARBOROUGH, the popular Yorkshire seaside resort, was the appointed place of assembly for the 53rd annual Co-operative Congress, which was held on the three days May 16, 17, 18 ; a civic welcome by the Mayor being accorded to the delegates, amongst whom were representatives of the co-operative movements in France, Belgium, Norway, Poland, Georgia, and the Ukraine.

The president-elect of 1921-22 was Mr. George Major (member of the United Board of the Co-operative Union) who, in his presidential address, took an exalted view of social progress, and made an appeal to co-operators to take a larger view of co-operation, and to look upon it as a complete philosophy of social life, a living gospel comprising all that is necessary in the healing of nations and the salvation of men.

The resolutions before Congress signified a comprehensive survey of all matters relative to national and international affairs affecting the progress and welfare of the movement.

The Government Policy Condemned.

An important feature, characteristic of the proceedings, was the condemnation of the anti-democratic policy of the present government. In this connection Sir Thomas Allen (director of the C.W.S.) pointed out the magnitude of the consumers' indictment against the government. He said : " The government had no qualities from the consumers' point of view, for the consumers had been the victim of a great betrayal. They (the government) have not honoured their vows." Cases in which the consumer had been betrayed were mentioned by Sir Thomas, such as the reduction of the taxes on the war rich, the refusal to withdraw the embargo on Canadian cattle, and the institution of new protective taxes, and also the failure to carry out the promise in regard to trusts, and the declaration of Sir Thomas (in moving the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee) that " they had found themselves as impotent as ever to make an impression on the parliamentary machinery. He must impress co-operators with the urgent necessity of consolidating their forces, and utilising their powers, political and economic, to the full extent, if they are to get a measure of satisfaction from the present government, and are to combat successfully the reactionary forces with which they have to contend."

A resolution was subsequently carried condemning the government's failure to fulfil its 1917 pledge to remove the embargo on the importation of Canadian store cattle, bearing in mind the official admission that Canadian cattle have been free from disease for over 25 years, and that the retention of the embargo has inflicted great hardships upon the consumers of the country.

The Victimisation of Co-operators in Ireland.

One of the most important resolutions was with regard to the position of the co-operative movement, and the political situation in

Ireland. In the discussion, Congress unmistakably declared itself with regard to the misgovernment of that country, and the apparent victimisation to which co-operators and co-operative property had been subjected. The resolution called upon the government to—

investigate immediately the whole of the circumstances attending the destruction of co-operative properties in Ireland, and demands that an impartial inquiry be held and the results of such inquiry published with the least possible delay.

And further demanded :—

(1) That adequate protection be given to all engaged in the legitimate work of the Co-operative Movement in Ireland ;

(2) That officers of co-operative societies and all other persons at present under arrest without charges being made against them, be either released or brought to trial and the grounds for their arrest published : and

(3) That freedom for the pursuit of their co-operative activities be granted to co-operative societies and co-operators in all parts of Ireland, and that similar freedom be granted to all other persons in Ireland for the enjoyment of their lawful civic rights.

It also calls upon the Government to grant adequate compensation from His Majesty's Treasury to all co-operative societies and co-operators in those cases where it is proved that they have suffered loss owing to the action of the Forces of the Crown.

This Congress further expresses itself in favour of a policy of conciliation in Ireland, and the granting of a measure of self-government which will be acceptable to the Irish people as a whole.

The Proposed Co-operative and Labour Alliance.

The wide divergence of views revealed by the discussion and voting on the important resolution relative to the proposed Co-operative and Labour Political Alliance—a resolution which had been adjourned for twelve months—showed that co-operators, as a body, are not as yet of a united opinion regarding political action. An amendment brought forward by several societies in the north of England (to the effect that the co-operative movement should maintain its political independence, and should not be allied to one particular party), was defeated by a majority of nearly 800 votes, whilst the remarkable result of the voting on the resolution itself showed this to have been defeated by 4 votes only.

A resolution which was carried without dissent, declared, in effect, for the securing of an alteration in the Operative Painters' Union rules, to allow of freedom for co-operative societies to conduct their business in accordance with co-operative principles. This resolution gave opportunity for criticisms and pointed observations to be levelled at the work of the recently-formed Labour Department of the Co-operative Union, which will no doubt prove helpful in the shaping of the policy of the department. During the discussion of the Defence Committee's report, the question of resisting the Corporation Profits Tax was introduced, and it was announced that 80 societies had banded together to resist the law with regard to this iniquitous impost.

Another Co-operative Grievance.

Congress gleaned further evidence of the hostile attitude of the

authorities from the Treasury ruling by which auditors, who are experts in the matter of auditing co-operative societies accounts, will be refused the status and legal rights of public auditors, and a resolution was passed calling upon the government to withdraw the unfair regulations, and, if necessary, to set up standards of efficiency under the control of the government and open to all candidates able to fulfil the requirements. The Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Union was instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to the terms of the resolution.

The Capital Campaign.

The capital campaign inaugurated by the movement generally, and the C.W.S. in particular, should receive a fillip from the adoption of the resolution approving of a national joint committee for capital propaganda, and urging upon all sections of the movement the necessity for increasing its capital resources, and recommending that societies should at once abolish all restrictions limiting investments or accumulations of members' share capital up to the legal limit of £200.

The Question of a Full-time Executive for the Union.

Owing to the economic crisis through which the movement and the country generally was passing, the question of a full-time executive for the Co-operative Union was adjourned for a year, on the recommendation of the Central Board of the Union ; and by sanctioning a proposed amendment to Rule 42 of the Co-operative Union, owing to the inadequacy of the present fee, the delegates agreed to an advance in the salaries of the Central Board.

A proposal for a scheme for the reduction of representation at Congress was defeated.

International Co-operation.

International co-operation occupied a prominent place in the discussions, and a resolution aiming at the strengthening of the International Co-operative Alliance was approved. The question of trading with Russia was discussed at length, and notwithstanding the efforts that had been made, and in view of the multiplicity of difficulties which had to be contended with, the establishment of trading relations generally was regarded as impracticable at the present time.

More Protests against Government Measures.

In the discussion on the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, condemnation of the government's failure to fulfil its pledges was also forthcoming. The Fisher Education Act of 1918, and the educational reforms contained therein, gave opportunity for the delegates to protest against the failure of the government to meet its national obligations under the Act, and to demand that full effect to the provisions of the Act be given without delay.

Congress regarded the proposed government measures to cope with the unemployment question as altogether inadequate, and called for adequate means of subsistence to be granted to maintain efficiency for

renewed work when opportunity offers; the Congress also called for the government control of monopolies, trusts, and combines, and for the restriction of the power to make huge profits out of the common needs; and also declared that only by the application of co-operative principles to industry, can the evils of unemployment be prevented.

A further resolution protested against the government's protectionist policy, and the autocratic manner in which protectionist tariffs are being introduced without the electorate being consulted.

Various meetings and demonstrations took place in connection with the Congress, and an international session (presided over by the Congress president, Mr. G. Major) was also held.

DIARY OF DISPUTES.

Disputes where N.U.D.A.W. Members have withdrawn their labour during 1921 in the Co-operative Movement with official sanction.

Period of Dispute.	Society or Societies affected.	Aims of Dispute.
Feb. 3rd	Manchester Co-op. Laundries	To enforce wages agreement.
Feb. 7th	Darlington	To compel the honouring of joint agreement.
Feb. 26th–28th	Ashton-under-Lyne	Reinstatement and to enforce the principle of employees' free choice of trade union.
March 5th	Grimsby	To secure reinstatement of employees, and negotiations before short time operated or dismissals took place.
March 5th–7th	Stockton	Reinstatement of 18 employees.
April 7th–8th	Dumfries	To secure adoption of arbitrator's award.
May 23rd–28th	Winnington	Equalisation of short-time working.
June 10th–12th	Bishop Auckland	Reinstatement of 40 employees, and
July 11th (still continuing Nov. 12th)	Bishop Auckland	To compel the honouring of June 12th agreement.
July 14th–28th	Co-op. Insurance Society	Reinstatement of a district manager.
July 23rd	Farnworth	The right to negotiate before short time is introduced.
July 25th–26th	Pendleton (Transport Workers)	To secure negotiations before wages rates are altered.
July 26th–Aug. 22nd	Brierfield	To resist wages reduction.
July 25th–Aug. 22nd	Barrowford	" " "
July 26th–Aug. 22nd	Trawden	" " "
July 30th–Aug. 6th	Sabden	" " "
July 26th–Aug. 22nd	Whalley	" " "
July 30th–Aug. 13th	Padiham	" " "
Aug. 9th–12th	Darwen	" " "
July 28th	Middleton and Tonge (Transport Workers)	To retain wages rate.
July 27th–28th	Scottish Societies: West Benhar, Bathgate, Broxburn, Hillwood, Musselburgh, and Gorebridge	To secure withdrawal of lock-out notices *re* wage reductions.
July 23rd–25th	Ryhope	To secure abolition of short time.
Aug. 6th	Accrington	To resist wages reduction.

WOMEN'S GUILD CONGRESS, 1921.

OVER 1,300 delegates were accorded a civic welcome to Manchester by the Mayor of Salford (in the unavoidable absence of the Lord Mayor of Manchester) on the occasion of the Co-operative Women's Guild Congress, which was held on the three days May 14, 15, 16, the Guild President, Mrs. Ferguson, presiding.

During the 29 years since Manchester previously welcomed the Congress, the number of branches had all but decupled, viz., having increased from 100 to 980 (with a membership of over 50,000). It is gratifying to know that the 1,000 mark was subsequently reached.

Greetings to Congress were forthcoming from the Co-operative Women of Holland, Sweden, and Austria, and from officials on behalf of the co-operators of Canada and the United States, and from the All Russian Co-operative Society—"Arcos."

Besides passing a resolution of greeting to the Co-operative Women of all countries, the Congress also recommended the study of Esperanto for International purposes. Other resolutions passed called for a cessation of the competition in armaments, for a cessation of the manufacture of poison gas, and for a definite policy for the foundation of peace by promoting international co-operative trade, whereby an economic League of Peoples would be assured, and private profit-making eliminated from industry.

Political Affairs.

The Congress also declared its hostility to the capitalist political parties, and declared that the only hope for a new world lies in co-operators and labour coming into power; with women as well as men represented in parliament and the government.

Congress called upon the government to increase old age pensions in accordance with the cost of living, and to make them payable at 60 years of age (or alternatively on an applicant becoming incapacitated from working or earning his or her own livelihood), and payable to all persons with an income not exceeding £100, if application be made. The government was also called upon to adopt a Bill for the endowment of motherhood.

The Congress also raised its protest against the government's financial policy in effecting economies by the curtailing of expenditure on the essential services of health and education of the people. Congress also protested against the proposed amendments to existing by-laws regulating the employment of children, which would make it allowable to employ children between the ages of 12 and 14, and called upon the State to provide widows and necessitous parents with a grant to prevent their children having to work between these ages.

The increasing amount of unemployment was the subject of a resolution calling upon the government to find a more effective means of solving the problem by introducing a scheme for family endowment immediately to reduce the suffering of dependent women and children. Congress expressed sympathy with the workers in the struggle for a decent standard of life, and called upon them to save and invest in the co-operative movement, so as to build up a democratic system of industry and trade by which organised consumers and workers shall control production, distribution, and exchange, on the principle of mutual benefit.

As regards the housing question, the following resolution was adopted :—

> This Congress expresses its bitter disappointment and indignation at the very small number of houses which have been as yet erected under the Ministry of Health schemes. It places on record its opinion that the Ministry has insisted upon inadequate and unsatisfactory plans, and is demanding rents much higher than the ordinary working people are able to pay. It further expresses the view based on information received from many Housing Committees, that in too many cases the Ministry has hampered and hindered, rather than helped, the efforts of the local authorities in dealing with the housing problem, which is to-day as insistent and pressing as ever.

To the above resolution a rider was added, which, in effect, urges the Ministry of Health to take over the control of building rings, and to deal with the erection of houses.

Affairs in Ireland produced an exciting debate, which concluded with the adoption of the following resolution, with only three or four dissentients :—

> That this conference denounces the wanton destruction and closing of co-operative creameries in Ireland by Government order, and demands that an impartial judicial enquiry should be made, that the complete report and evidence should be published and that full reparation should be made by the Government. It repudiates the use of force to repress the demand of a small nation for self-determination, such action being utterly opposed to every principle of English democracy and causing untold misery and suffering. It further calls on the Government to make peace immediately, by negotiating with the constitutionally elected representatives of the Irish people.

In connection with the movement's campaign for more capital it was urged that all guilds should advocate the adoption of the stamp scheme by all societies.

Guild Affairs.

A resolution was also adopted which will affect the representation at Congress. This, in effect, will mean one delegate for each 100 members or fraction of 100 members, with one vote for every 25 members or fraction of 25 members.

It was also decided that a general secretary should be engaged at a salary of £300 per year.

Mrs. Dewsbury was chosen as president for the ensuing year, and Portsmouth was decided upon as the place where the 1922 Congress shall be held.

VIRGINIA'S GIFT TO GREAT BRITAIN.

On June 30th last, Lord Curzon, for Great Britain, accepted this Statue of George Washington, fronting Trafalgar Square, from Virginia, U.S.A., and an American Civil War Veteran laid a wreath at the foot.

THE "QUEST" AT LONDON BRIDGE.

Sir Ernest Shackleton's little 200-ton ship, photographed at London Bridge, just before the start on the great Antarctic exploration.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE OF CO-OPERATION. THE YEAR 1921.

By Prof. F. Hall.

THE year 1921 will always be described as a black year in the history of labour. If we ignore the fact that the seeds of many of the troubles of the year were sown in war years it has been for the worker and the workers' principal organisations a worse year than any of the war years. During the war years employment was easily obtained, and if during these years wages lagged behind the rapidly-rising prices of foodstuffs and clothing, employment was available and an income thereby assured. Some workers, too, received relatively good rates of pay ; overtime increased the weekly income of thousands ; whilst separation allowances helped to sustain many homes from which the bread winner had gone forth in khaki to serve his country in other spheres.

The causes of our present abnormal troubles undoubtedly originated during the years of the war ; but comparing only the immediate situation in the two periods the worker was better off during the war than he is to-day. If prices to-day (October, 1921) are lower than they were, they have not ensured a higher standard of living for the worker, for wage rates during 1921 have been considerably reduced ; most workers are under-employed ; and with the officially-stated figure of unemployed at about 20 per cent in the principal industries, unemployment has reached a magnitude unknown in our time. The position of the worker has become more desperate as the weeks have gone by, and his war savings and unemployment benefits have become exhausted.

These phenomena have not been without their influence upon the workers' organisations. During the war years trade unions increased their membership and funds almost phenomenally ; and co-operative societies recorded increases of membership, capital, and trade at rates never before achieved.

A Year of Reaction.

But 1921 has been a year of reaction in more than one respect. Many trade unions have suffered a decline in membership and funds, and some unions, owing to the demands for strike and unemployment pay, have exhausted their funds altogether. Some co-operative societies also have lost members ; many have suffered a decline in capital ; reduction in sales, partly due to falling prices, have been common ; organised short time for co-operative employees has been for the first time resorted to on a large scale as a consequence ; few societies have been able to maintain even the lower war-time rates of dividend ; and some societies, for the first time in their history, have

recorded a loss. Behind these results lie the inter-related causes—falling prices, lower wages, trade disputes, and unemployment. Behind these causes lie others such as excessive speculation, excessive issue of paper money, dislocation of foreign markets, the condition of the foreign exchanges, the war-time destruction of wealth, the impoverishment of whole communities, the continuation of unrest in many parts of the world, and the failure to make a wise peace settlement.

A year ago from platforms all over the country leaders of industry and statesmen were telling the community that more production, and that alone, could bring down prices and increase the real wages of the worker and save the world from disaster. With appalling swiftness, in fact whilst the demand for more production was still being urged, unemployment spread and became general, and the worker who had been told that his salvation lay in increasing production found himself out of work because there was no market for what was already produced. To find the explanation we must go back to 1920. In the early months of that year bank managers received instructions to keep a more watchful eye over their advances to customers and to restrict overdrafts. Financiers (rightly) were becoming alarmed. The continued rise in prices, largely due to inflation and speculation, must inevitably have been followed by a re-action, and the longer the crash was delayed the greater it would have been. Financiers knew it, but they did not know how far their own security would be involved if the boom went any farther, and they therefore took action to check further inflation and speculation.

Although greater calamities were avoided, a calamity resulted which brought something approaching ruin to hundreds who had made fortunes during the war, and brought thousands of workers to the brink of starvation. So long as credit was easily obtainable and the feeling of optimism existed, prices continued to rise ; speculators had their chance. When credit restrictions were imposed, speculators and more genuine traders were compelled to sell their stocks in order to obtain cash to meet their obligations. A break in prices occurred, and whilst 12 months earlier it was a common saying that one could not make a mistake in buying anything anywhere, the position was now reversed. The goods made to-day from raw materials bought yesterday and put on the market to-morrow might have fallen so much in price that the manufacturers might not be able to sell at a profit ; they might indeed have to offer their goods at prices below the cost of the raw materials as was the case in thousands of instances. The stimulus to production in our modern industrial system is the possibility of realising a profit therefrom, a stimulus which is supposed to bring forth the goods for which there is the greatest need as proved by the margin of profit realised on their production. This stimulus was absent when profits declined owing to falling prices ; production was restricted, even by those who had been telling the worker that the world's economic salvation depended upon more production !

Unemployment naturally increased in these circumstances; the demand for commodities fell off still more owing to reduced purchasing power, and this had an effect also in further depressing prices.

The falling away of profits naturally led to the demand for reductions in wages; and attempts were made to justify the demand by pointing to the reduction of prices. The demand for a reduction in wages naturally provoked resistance and caused an unparalleled number of strikes and lock-outs; and in the case of the dispute in the coal industry caused reduced employment in scores of industries besides the one primarily affected. The struggle of the workers to maintain the standard of living which they were enjoying at the time of the armistice has been, perhaps, the most important feature of the economic struggle of labour during the year 1921.

Conditions for labour have been unfavourable. The pre-occupation of some countries with internal strife or with war against their neighbours, and exhaustion and impoverishment of others as a result of war struggles, the foolish financial policy of some countries which has further affected the rate of exchange; the general disorganisation following the war; the continuation of the gambling or speculative mania; the unwise clauses of the peace terms; these and the general unrest and uncertainty of the future have closed, wholly or partly, markets upon which British workers depend for employment. Unemployment throughout 1921 has continued on a scale unknown to the present generation, and the industrial and commercial conditions have affected the co-operative movement very considerably.

Co-operative Progress in 1920.

Before we are able to understand the economic struggle of the co-operative movement in 1921, it is necessary to have in mind the general industrial conditions as described in previous paragraphs. It is also desirable to note the progress of the movement in 1920. From many points of view the year 1920 was a year of record progress, as previously noted. Membership of retail societies rose from 4,131,477 to 4,505,852, a record increase of 373,375 members. Share capital rose from £65,644,968 to £76,374,391, an increase of £10,729,423—almost equal to the record increase of £11,600,000 set up the previous year. The trade of these societies rose from £198,930,437 to £254,158,144—another record increase, amounting to £55,227,707, whilst the number of workers employed by all types of societies rose from 187,535 at the end of 1919 to 201,509 at the end of 1920. In reading these figures it must be remembered that prices were falling during the latter part of 1920, and unemployment was gradually increasing.

Position of the Movement in 1921.

These figures give evidence of the growing recognition of the advantages and power of the co-operative movement; but since the beginning of 1921 conditions have been very different. The

unemployment due to the continued trade depression and the industrial disputes has compelled thousands to draw upon their savings in their co-operative societies, and in some cases to withdraw altogether. Many societies therefore report a falling away of share capital. Purchasing power has been reduced owing to the same causes and to lower wages, so that sales have fallen for this reason, and also owing to the prevalence of lower prices. The fall in prices of stocks has hit co-operative societies like other traders and has caused a reduction in profits, in some cases it has led to losses. The consequent fall in dividend has probably been partly responsible for part of the loss of membership reported by some societies, and it has certainly been responsible for the reduction of reserve funds. Many societies in the coal areas have given extensive credit to the miners either on the security of individuals or of their trade unions: and the C.W.S. Bank has also assisted. Some societies, on the other hand, report an extraordinary influx of members. Reliable figures for the whole movement are not available at the time these lines are written, but it seems safe to say that the movement never was tested—either in its retail section or its wholesale section—as it is being tested to-day. Societies have been compelled to dismiss some of their employees and adopt organised short time in other cases.

Consolidation rather than expansion has therefore been the policy of co-operative societies during the year 1921. That they have stood the strain of the test to which they have been put during the year is a testimony to the abiding loyalty of the mass of the members, and to the sound financial policy which has in general been followed since the days of the Rochdale Pioneers.

The past year has brought the trade unions and the co-operative movement more closely together. This greater harmony of operation is not to be measured by the creation of new machinery, but rather by the growth of the feeling of common interests and the greater recognition of the help which each can give to the other in the many matters of common interest which arise almost daily.

The Campaign Against the Corporation Profits Tax.

The campaign against the Corporation Profits Tax has continued during the year. Following the special conference at Preston in September, 1920, the Co-operative Union maintained its efforts to secure the repeal of the obnoxious clauses in the Finance Act. A number of societies desired the adoption of a policy of passive resistance and at a special conference held in London in April, 1921, the policy to be followed was further debated. It resulted in the defeat of the policy of passive resistance, the following recommendations of the Income Tax Committee being adopted by 1688 votes against 1179 for passive resistance :—

(1) The abolition of all direct taxation on trade, such as Excess Profits Duty and Corporation Profits Tax, and in their stead reliance upon Income Tax, Super Tax and Death Duties.

(2) The abolition of Corporation Profits Tax and the substitution of a tax on net turnover after deducting all payments by way of discount, bonus and dividend on purchases.

(3) If the Corporation Profits Tax be retained it should be recognised in all taxation that the surpluses of co-operative societies arising from mutual trading are not profits, and the consequent exemption of such surpluses.

Although the policy of passive resistance was not adopted by the movement as a whole, a number of societies were bent upon following this course, and have held conferences in various parts of the country to discuss ways and means of defeating the tax. They submitted a case to Sir John Simon, and have been determined to take a test case into the courts. Meanwhile the Co-operative Union has continued its educational and propaganda work on constitutional lines in accord with the decision of the London Conference in April last. When the Finance Bill of 1921 was introduced various amendments designed to protect the position and claims of the co-operative movement were introduced and defeated. When the Report Stage was reached, however, success attended the efforts that were being made. Mr. Kidd (Member for Linlithgow) moved the following amendment :—

Where the profits are profits or surplus arising from trading with its own members of a society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, no tax shall be charged.

This amendment was carried by two votes. It constituted a Government defeat, but the leader of the House of Commons preferred to treat the matter lightly ; and whilst he had previously asserted that the needs of the country were so great that he could not forego even the relatively small amount which the tax would collect from co-operative societies who must expect to bear a share of the great burden which the country has to bear, he now considered the matter as trifling. It was not, he said, of sufficient importance to cause the Government to consider their position in the light of the defeat !

The victory in the House of Commons has naturally pleased co-operators, but it should be pointed out that co-operative societies still fall within the scope of the tax. All that has happened—and it is important—is that co-operative societies are no longer liable for tax upon that part of their surplus which is the result of mutual trading. This was the centre of the case which co-operators put up in opposition to the tax, and whilst certain elements of their surpluses will still be liable for the tax the non-profit principle of mutual trading is protected and the exemption together with the present exemption minimum of £500 will lift hundreds of societies out of the area of liability.

Co-operative Societies and Public Auditors.

In last year's review we made reference to the fact that the imposition of the Corporation Profits Tax was probably only the beginning and not the end of the struggle between co-operation and capitalism. Another phase has been entered by the issue of a circular by the Treasury limiting new appointments as public auditor to members of one of the institutes of chartered accountants (England, Scotland, and

Ireland) or of the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors and to prevent any person acting as auditor who may be employed by or connected with any organisation or supervisory body promoting or having any interest in or share in the control of societies registered under the Acts. To understand the effect of this regulation it is necessary to go back a little.

Several years ago the leaders of the co-operative movement, being anxious that every possible step should be taken to ensure the stability of the movement and the rectitude of co-operative accounts, urged the Government to make compulsory by legislation the certification of the accounts of all co-operative societies (Industrial and Provident Societies) by one or more public auditors. This was for the purpose of preventing any incompetent person securing a position as auditor. The Industrial and Provident Societies Amendment Act of 1913 made the engagement of such auditors compulsory upon societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts. Public auditors, it should be explained, are persons appointed as such by the Treasury, and the position is not one open to any person merely by passing an examination, nor is an examination necessary. Appointment by the Treasury was sufficient. It was, however, understood if not agreed that nominations by the Co-operative Union would be accepted as evidence of fitness, and the Co-operative Union organised training courses for auditors as a means of ensuring an adequate supply of qualified persons. The system worked well. The Co-operative Union, with its own reputation and that of the movement at stake, was naturally careful in its recommendations, most of which were adopted, although latterly less readily. Recommendations from other sources, *e.g.*, from Members of Parliament, were also accepted by the Treasury, and the list was by no means exclusive.

The new regulation makes it exclusive, and an accountant who may have a thorough knowledge of co-operative accounts will not now be considered eligible unless he is a member of one of the professional bodies mentioned, whilst members of those bodies may be appointed although they have not the slightest experience of co-operative accounts! It is said that there is no intention of removing present members from the list merely on the ground of their not being members of these associations, but a pruning process has been going on for some time on other grounds, *e.g.*, where a person has not actually been auditing accounts for a period. Even if the new regulation is not retrospective it is viewed with apprehension by co-operators. It will compel co-operative societies to place the auditing of their accounts in the hands of professional accountants, who may not be in sympathy with co-operative development or possess a deep knowledge of co-operative methods and accounts. Co-operators consider that the work can be better done by men of their own training from their own ranks. In other words, the new regulation is an interference with the self-government of the co-operative movement and as such is resented.

Co-operators feel that they are being singled out for this special treatment. Note the difference between a joint stock company and a co-operative society. The former may operate over a wide area, its shareholders may be distributed all over the country, even all over the world, its shares may be the subject of purchase and sale daily on the stock exchange ; but the company can appoint any person it likes, qualified or unqualified, to act as auditor. A co-operative society operating in one district, as most do, constantly under the observation of its members who hold meetings quarterly or half-yearly to discuss the business of the society and able to attend such meetings more easily than the scattered shareholders of a company can attend their general meetings, having a more detailed balance sheet than a company usually presents—such a society must have its choice of auditor restricted—presumably in order to protect the welfare of the members ! Compare the position of the company and the co-operative society, and the iniquity of the new regulations is apparent.

The second clause is directed against organisations such as the Co-operative Union, the Co-operative Wholesale Societies, and the various agricultural organisation societies which have brought societies into existence and by request of the societies have continued to audit their accounts and give that advice which only an auditor is able to give. Again, co-operators protest against the interference with their right of self-government.

Co-operators, being greatly concerned about the results of the new regulation, discussed the regulation at the National Conference held at London in April, and passed the following resolution unanimously :—

> That this national conference records its emphatic protest against the action of the Treasury in proscribing the admission of our specially-trained accountants to the list of public auditors if they are not members of one of the Institutes of Chartered Accountants (England, Scotland, or Ireland), or of the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors, and in setting up as a national standard the certificates of membership of private associations, and thus introducing a professional bar into the free working of our societies. It calls upon the Government to withdraw these offensive and unfair regulations, and, if necessary, to set up standards of efficiency under the control of the Government and open to all candidates able to fulfil the requirements.

Various representations have been made to the Treasury on several occasions since the passing of this resolution, and a deputation representing the Co-operative movement and other organisations affected waited upon the Treasury. Consideration of the case presented by the deputation was promised by the Treasury, and an unfavourable reply has been received ; but further efforts are being made to secure a reversal of the Treasury decision.

The experience of the past year as recorded in this article indicates that the co-operative movement has still much opposition to meet. It is also an indication that not much real help can be secured from Government. What the movement most needs is freedom from interference, freedom to develop, freedom for self-government.

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY.

By S. F. Perry, J.P.,

Secretary of the Co-operative Party.

AFTER three years' existence, the Co-operative Party is now in a position to ascertain the extent to which Co-operative Politics have penetrated the movement. Whilst there still remains much to be done, steady progress has been maintained, and the prospects for the future are most encouraging. Whatever may be the ultimate political policy of Co-operators, intervention in politics is bound to be a definite part of the work of the movement.

During the year 1921, 523 distributive societies and 27 productive societies were affiliated to the Co-operative Party, and 180 Co-operative Parties, including four voluntary organisations, have been established. Many full-time political agents or organisers have been appointed by societies, and thus the work of building up a political organisation is being continued. About 20 Co-operative Parliamentary candidates are likely to be nominated at the General Election. The policy of the National Committee of the Party, however, has been more in the direction of building up an organisation than multiplying candidatures before the state of the organisation would warrant such a procedure.

On municipal bodies there have been elected 180 direct Co-operative representatives—222 nominated under the designation of Co-operative and Labour, and 390 Labour candidates definitely supported by Co-operative societies. An interesting development is portrayed in the affiliation of 66 Co-operative societies to local Labour parties. Under the constitution of the Co-operative Party full autonomy is granted to societies in these matters. Out of the 66 societies, 47 continue their affiliation to the Co-operative Party. From this it would appear that in some areas there is slowly evolving a definite leaning towards the Trade Union and Labour movements, and this must be taken as a sign of the times.

Need of a Co-operative Press.

Co-operators have repeatedly had occasion to complain of the apathy and even antagonism of the Capitalist Press towards the movement. This has been most marked in connection with the development of the Co-operative Party, and is not to be wondered at. In our few Co-operative organs every opportunity is given for putting forward the views of the Co-operative Party, but a sympathetic daily press is one of our most urgent needs. Realising the importance of this matter, the Co-operative Party have made a small beginning in the direction of a co-operative political newspaper. In the constituencies of Kettering, King's Norton, Sparkbrook, North Tottenham, and South East Ham, where Co-operative Parliamentary candidates

are to be nominated at the General Election, a Co-operative Party monthly newspaper has been established. In its columns prominence is given to the policy of the Party, nationally and locally, and to the views of the candidate. It is financed partly by the National Committee of the Party and partly by the local organisations, and is distributed gratis. A portion of the cost is covered by revenue derived from co-operative advertisements. The paper serves many purposes, and is distributed from house to house in the constituency by voluntary Co-operative Party workers. This affords an opportunity of personal contact with the electors, of explaining the policy of the Party, and is the basis for real canvassing work. It secures the smooth working of the ward organisation, and has been remarkably successful in spreading the principles of co-operation, with the result that, from a trading, educational, and political point of view, the local society has reaped many benefits. A development of this scheme is under consideration in other constituencies, and its future will be watched with interest.

The Labour and Co-operative Alliance.

Probably the most important feature of the Co-operative Party's development during the year was the prominence given to its report during the Scarborough Congress of the Union. More than half of the three days covered by the Congress proceedings was devoted to its discussion and on the question of the alliance with the Trade Union and Labour movement. For the first time in the history of Co-operative Congresses a political demonstration, under the auspices of the Party, was held on the Sunday evening. Nearly 2,000 people were present and hundreds had to be turned away for lack of accommodation. The representative character of the platform and the high tone of the speeches served to create an enthusiasm which was sustained throughout Congress.

In the discussion of the Party's report, the policy of the Co-operative Party towards the Russian Soviet Government came under review. The attitude of the Party received enthusiastic support, and led to a remarkable pronouncement by Mr. H. J. May, Secretary of the International Alliance, in favour of a more determined effort being made to reopen co-operative trading with the Soviet representatives. The Congress cheered this appeal to the echo. The questions of a daily newspaper, unemployment, education, Ireland, women Parliamentary candidates, and the Party's relationship to the United Board were debated with keenness and constructive criticism. The Co-operative Party has good reason to be proud of the attention paid to its activities.

The outstanding feature of the Congress was the discussion of the proposed Labour and Co-operative Alliance. This was not surprising, as for months before Congress the Press of the country (with a few exceptions) had been warning co-operators of the danger of such an alliance. The old capitalist political parties were alarmed by the possibilities of the fusion of democracy, and saw their policy of "Divide

and Rule" in jeopardy. It was a bold proposal on the part of the Co-operative Party to form such an alliance in the Party's third year of existence, and these features helped to increase the interest in the discussion. The Co-operative movement has rarely taken such steps as it did on this occasion to ascertain the feeling of its constituents. Conferences and meetings were held, and most delegates came to Congress instructed how to record their societies' votes. Throughout the debate a good spirit was shown on both sides. An amendment submitted by some of the societies in the Northern Section opposing the alliance, and calling for a special committee to be appointed to consider the constitution and policy of the Co-operative Party was heavily defeated. A direct vote was then taken on the alliance and, amidst great excitement, the proposal was rejected by four votes only, the figures being 1,686 for, 1,682 against.

For the moment, the question which has aroused such a keen division of opinion is out of the way. Time and the changing aspect of British politics will show whether the policy of the Co-operative Party must be in the direction of independence or alliance with the Trade Union and Labour forces.

The Party's Place in the Development of Co-operation.

Events of the past year have emphasized the importance of the Party in connection with the development of co-operation. The machinery of the Party was utilised to the full in supplementing the successful efforts of the United Board and the Parliamentary Committees to defeat the Government on the question of the Corporation Profits Tax being applied to the results of mutual trading. This victory alone has affected a great saving of co-operators' funds, justified intervention in politics, and served to strengthen our cause. We have still, however, need to be on the alert to safeguard our interests. Representation is still denied us on important committees set up by the Government. A determined attack is being made by the Treasury on the right of the movement to train and appoint its own auditors. When Bills introduced into Parliament are referred to Standing Committees repeated attempts have been made to insert clauses which would seriously hamper our operations. The knowledge of this has largely influenced societies in favour of the Co-operative Party.

The growth of the Co-operative movement in membership, trade, and capital in recent years has been remarkable. This has occurred at the time when the movement's entry into politics was on its trial. Whilst it would be unfair to assume that political activities are responsible for this tremendous growth, it is reasonable to assume that the entry of the movement into politics has brought increased enthusiasm and vigour into its policy and indirectly helped to its success, and is in contrast to the pessimistic views held by those who are opposed to co-operative politics.

Future Policy.

The policy of the Party has been, and will probably continue to be, in the direction of utilising the existing machinery of the movement, and building up an effective organisation, rather than adopting a spectacular programme. With this in view a scheme has been arranged under which the National and local organisations of the Women's and Men's Guilds are to help in the work. Already good results have accrued. In Scotland the most important Conference Association has adopted a new constitution, under which affiliated societies pay an inclusive subscription for the Co-operative Union, the Party, and for local organisation purposes. This has brought a number of new societies into affiliation with the Party, and also permitted the appointment of a full-time political organiser. This experiment will be watched with interest.

Following the first Annual Conference of the Party in 1920, periodical Sectional Conferences are likely to be held. These gatherings will provide a means of ascertaining the opinions of affiliated societies, opportunities for criticism, and for moulding the policy of the Party.

It will thus be seen that the Co-operative Party is gradually attaining recognition as a political force. With the awakening of the conscience of co-operators to the importance of influencing legislation so that co-operative principles may be applied to international and home affairs, will come that effective organisation which is essential to success.

SWEDISH CO-OPERATOR AS TRANSPORT MINISTER.

THE recent appointment of the secretary of the Swedish Union and Wholesale (Hr. Anders Oerne) to the post of Swedish Transport Minister under the new government is interesting to note, redounding as it does to the credit of the government as well as of Hr. Anders Oerne. During the course of his nearly 11 years' connection with the Swedish Union, Hr. Oerne has advanced to the front of the movement by the manifestation of abilities which have also caused him to be appointed a Minister of State. In accepting government office, Hr. Oerne has, of course, resigned his position as secretary of the Union, which will be fortunate if it succeeds in finding a person to occupy the post with the same distinction as heretofore. Meantime there is the consoling reflection that the loss to the Union is counterbalanced by a gain to the State and by the gain of political influence for the Swedish co-operative movement as well.

CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

(*References to the character and work of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited on pages* 49 *to* 64 ; *Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited on pages* 65 *to* 71 ; *to the Co-operative Union on pages* 17 *to* 24 ; *to the Co-operative Party on pages* 40 *to* 43 ; *and to the International Co-operative Alliance on pages* 119 *to* 123.)

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED.

HOLYOAKE HOUSE, HANOVER STREET, MANCHESTER.

Secretary : A. WHITEHEAD.

The Co-operative Union Limited (formerly known as the Central Board, was established in 1869) is a federation of co-operative societies in the United Kingdom which conform to the provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts. Its functions are propaganda, legal assistance, co-operative education and defence. The annual Co-operative Congress is held under its auspices. The membership at the end of 1920, as given in the statistical report, was as follows :—

Type of Society.	Members of the Co-operative Union.		All Societies (including non-members) included in the Statistics of the Co-operative Union.	
	Number of Societies.	Membership of Societies.	Number of Societies.	Membership of Societies.
Retail Distributive Societies ..	1,222	4,432,478	1,379	4,504,852
Distributive Federations	4	59	5	61
Productive Societies	88	35,959	105	42,855
Supply Societies	3	8,108	4	8,525
Special Societies	2	486	5	899
Wholesale Societies	3	2,119	3	2,119
Totals for All Types of Societies	1,322	4,479,209	1,501	4,559,311

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALES.

THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD.

1, BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER. Secretary : T. BRODRICK, J.P.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society (whose operations date back to 1864) is the wholesale provider for the 1,200 and odd societies affiliated thereto, and is also a producer on the largest scale.

THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD.

95, MORRISON STREET, GLASGOW. Secretary : JOHN PEARSON.

The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society (whose career dates back to 1868) is the wholesale provider for the Scottish societies. The Wholesale also possesses extensive productive establishments.

INSURANCE.

CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY LIMITED.

109, Corporation Street, Manchester.
Manager: J. P. Jones. Secretary: T. Brodrick, J.P.

The C.I.S. (founded 1867) is now the Joint Insurance Department of the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies. It undertakes all kinds of insurance business, including life, fire, accident, burglary, fidelity, employers' liability, live stock, &c. It has branches and agents throughout the United Kingdom.

C.W.S. HEALTH INSURANCE SECTION.

1, Balloon Street, Manchester.
Manager: R. Smith, F.F.I. Secretary: T. Brodrick, J.P.

An Approved Society (No. 214) under the Health Insurance Acts, established to administer for co-operators and others the benefits of the Acts. The present membership is 200,000, and the benefits paid to date £700,000. The invested funds are £876,738. Compensation to the amount of £180,000 has been secured for members, and war pensions granted to members have totalled £210,000. The Section also provides Free Dental Treatment, Legal Assistance for Compensation, Convalescent Home Benefits, and Benevolent Grants. A surplus of £280,000 has been declared on valuation, and additional benefits have been granted to the extent of 3s. per week during sickness for males and 1s. 6d. per week for females, also the maternity benefits have been increased to 43s. for each confinement.

SPECIFIC FEDERATIONS.

THE NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY LIMITED.

22, Long Millgate, Manchester.
Chairman: G. Brownbill, J.P. Secretary: R. Rowbotham.

This society is a federation of distributive societies owning the *Co-operative News*, *Scottish Co-operator*, *Millgate Monthly*, *Our Circle*, and *Woman's Outlook*, devoted to the co-operative movement.

CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LTD.

Alliance Chambers, Horsefair Street, Leicester.
President: Councillor T. Adams. Secretary: R. Halstead.

The objects of the federation are: To aid co-operative productive societies by united action; to open up a market for the sale of their goods; and to obtain capital for co-operative production. It has a membership of 46 societies, whose trade through the federation for the year 1920 was £555,552.

CULTURAL.

MEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

Joint Secretaries: W. C. Potter, 61, Ingleby Road, Ilford, Essex;
C. E. Wood, Co-operative Union, Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.

WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

28, Church Row, Hampstead, N.W.3.
President: Mrs. Dewsbury. Secretary: Miss M. Llewelyn Davies.

The Guild was established in 1883, and has the following objects: To organise women, as co-operators, for the study and practice of (1) co-operation and other methods of social reform; (2) improved conditions of domestic life. In April, 1921,

it had 905 branches, with a total membership of 50,686, an increase of 6,147 over the previous year. At its Congress in June, held at Manchester and attended by over 1,300 delegates, it was able to celebrate the formation of its 1,000th branch.

A special campaign for co-operative capital is being organised this year jointly with the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Co-operative Union. Other subjects which are being taken up in 1921-22 include the following: (1) The Guild: Its organisation and work in Co-operative and National Life; (2) Women on Co-operative Boards and Committees; (3) International Co-operative Trade; (4) The Co-operative Party; (5) the Workers' Press; (6) the National Care of Maternity; (7) Cash Trading.

SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD.

President: Mrs. McLean.
Secretary: Miss Kate M. Callen, 5, Elliot Street, Anderston, Glasgow.

The Scottish Guild has similar objects to those of the English. In 1920-21 it had a membership of 28,746 in 270 branches. During the year 35 new branches were opened, and three were resuscitated.

IRISH CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD.

President: Mrs. Green.
Secretary: Mrs. Girvan, 16, Reid Street, Belfast.

There are 16 branches with a membership of 1,300.

EMPLOYEES' ORGANISATIONS.

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION LIMITED.

President: F. Knox (Birtley).
General Secretary: Wm. Bradshaw, J.P. (17, St. Peter's Hill, Grantham).
Magazine Editor: C. W. Swingler (Birmingham).

The Executive Committee consists of the following gentlemen, representing the districts named: W. Bradshaw, J.P. (Nottingham), C. W. Newbold (London), Geo. Scott (West Scotland), F. Knox (Newcastle), C. W. Swingler (Birmingham), Wm. Semple (East Scotland), —. Winterbottom, J.P. (Manchester), C. J. Cole, J.P. (Bristol), J. Hoyle (Huddersfield), W. J. Whitney (South Wales), J. E. Sharpe (Northampton), G. W. Haw (Leeds), W. Rathbone (Boots), T. Dawson (Furnishing), —. Pearson (Drapery), and —. Helliwell (Tailoring).

CO-OPERATIVE SECRETARIES' ASSOCIATION.

President: G. Briggs, J.P. (Leeds). Treasurer: A. Pickup (Birkenhead).
Secretary: E. Emery, 18, Countess Lane, Radcliffe, Manchester.

Council: W. E. Bannister (Liverpool), T. Horrocks (N.-W. Convalescent Homes), Tom Welsh (Newbiggin), W. Snowdon (Willington), J. Rowlands (Prestwich), J. P. Stopford (Blackpool), J. R. Stell (Horwich), W. A. Wilkinson (Brighton), A. E. Worswick (Beswick), and W. Olney (Southampton).

Membership 582, chiefly in England and Wales.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE OFFICIALS.

22, Long Millgate, Manchester.
President: W. A. Wilkinson (Brighton).
Vice-Presidents: Wm. Bradshaw, J.P. (Grantham); Wm. Rathbone (St. Helens).
General Secretary: R. Simpson.

The union is open to general managers, officially-appointed assistant managers, secretaries, managing secretaries, heads of departments (who are buyers), cashiers, or accountants of co-operative societies, and Wholesale co-operative travellers.

Objects: (*a*) The obtaining of the recognition of such rates of wages and conditions of employment as shall seem from time to time desirable; (*b*) the provision of sick and unemployment benefits for its members; (*c*) the provision to its members of a sum of money against old age and infirmity: (*d*) the provision to its members of legal advice and assistance in any time of necessity, so far as the law allows.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF DISTRIBUTIVE AND ALLIED WORKERS (N.U.D.A.W.).

Registered Office, "Oakley," 122, Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.

Joint General Secretaries { J. Hallsworth. / Ald. W. A. Robinson.

A fusion of the late Amalgamated Union of Co-operative and Commercial Employees and Allied Workers (A.U.C.E.) and the National Warehouse and General Workers' Union, with effect from January 1st, 1921. Its membership is open to persons of either sex employed wholly or mainly in any commercial occupation, in connection with the retail and wholesale trades. It is affiliated to the British and Scottish Trade Union Congresses, the National Labour Party, the National Transport Workers' Federation, and the National Federation of Commercial and Clerical Employees. The membership is 150,000.

POLITICAL.

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY.

123, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.

Chairman: W. H. Watkins. Secretary: S. F. Perry, J.P.

This is the political organisation for the co-operative movement—organising and moulding political opinion for the expression of co-operative views in Parliamentary and local government elections.

FOREIGN.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD.

"Arcos," 68, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.

"Arcos" is the sole official representative (in this country) of the Centro Soyuz in Russia, under the new regime.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS IN LONDON.

Hazlitt House, Southampton Buildings, Holborn, London, W.C.

The representative of the Russian Co-operative Movement up to the date when the Russian co-operative system was nationalised by the Soviet Government. The Joint Committee has since then been in the position of that of a representative of the voluntary principles.

INTERNATIONAL.

THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.

4, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

Secretary: H. J. May.

The International Co-operative Alliance (established 1895) is an international union (embracing the Co-operative Unions of many countries) founded for the promotion of co-operative principles and practice on an international scale. The resumption of activities (interrupted during the war) constitutes the salient event in the history of the Alliance in the post-war period.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY LTD.

40, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.1.

Director-General: R. H. Carr. Secretary: F. S. Graff, O.B.E.

F. W. Wright, O.B.E.

The Agricultural Organization Society exists for the purpose of advocating the principles of co-operation amongst agriculturists, and of giving advice and assistance in the formation and organisation of properly registered co-operative agricultural societies in suitable districts throughout England and Wales. It does no trade and makes no profits. It is supported by voluntary contributions, but in addition receives grants from the Development Fund in aid of its work in the general development of agricultural co-operation, and from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries in aid of the promotion of co-operation in connection with small holdings and allotments.

On December 31st, 1920, the number of societies in affiliation was 1,558, representing an approximate membership of 212,000.

IRISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LIMITED.

The Plunkett House, Dublin.

President: Sir Horace Plunkett, K.C.V.O. Secretary: R. A. Anderson.

Founded in 1894 for the organisation of co-operation among Irish farmers and farm labourers. The number of societies in affiliation is 1,028, with a membership of 135,669 farmers and a total turnover of more than £11,000,000. Among these societies are 435 creameries, whose turnover exceeds £6,200,000. The official organ is the *Irish Homestead.*

SCOTTISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY LIMITED.

5, St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh.

Hon. President: The Duke of Buccleuch, K.G., K.T.

Secretary: John Drysdale.

There are in affiliation with the Scottish A.O.S. 199 agricultural co-operative societies, viz.: 146 purchase, dairy, and poultry societies; 13 stock improvement societies; 25 co-operative creameries, 6 fruit societies, and 9 smithy societies. Their total membership is 10,254, and the turnover in 1920 was £1,062,527.

C.W.S Workers in Field and Farm.

(1) Ploughing at Coldham, Cambs.
(2) Cutting and Binding at Coldham.
(3) Sheepshearing, Wingill.
(4) Group at Marden Fruit Farm.

New Acquisitions.

(1) C.W.S Dobeross Union Shirting Mill.
— Breaking and Blending. —

(2) C.W.S Knowsley St. (Manchester)
Tailoring Factory: A Tailor on the Bench.

(3) C.W.S Patricroft Rope and Twine Factory
Rope Walk.

THE YEAR OF THE C.W.S.

FOR several years prior to the end of 1920, the Co-operative Wholesale Society had been adding greatly to its properties for trade and manufacture in various parts of the country. Fields, factories, and workshops had been acquired to provide for increased supplies of commodities required by the ordinary members of co-operative stores. Developments in several directions have been recorded in previous issues of THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, and all that we are concerned about in the present volume are the achievements and tendencies of the C.W.S. during 1921.

It has been a year in which it can be truly said that productive and distributive extensions were practically arrested. It has, as a matter of fact, been a year of losses in trading and production, during which the society has had to face one of the severest testing times in its history of fifty-nine years. This was due to unprecedented loss in the trade of most of the distributive departments, and in several of the manufacturing establishments. The actual figures and the reasons will be recorded below. The losses, due principally to reductions in the value of stocks of goods, were accompanied by a gigantic "slump" in the trade of the country and widespread unemployment. The effect was to check, for the time being, those enterprises that are indispensable to the promotion of the Co-operative Commonwealth—that is, the purchasing of land, buildings, and factories for production, and warehouses and ships, &c., for distribution.

We would remind readers that our review of the year of the C.W.S. in the 1921 edition of the YEAR BOOK ended with a lengthy list of purchases which society-members had been recommended to accept. The lists, nevertheless, for sanction for 1921 are larger than those for 1920, but those enumerated for 1921 embrace transactions that had been carried through during the previous year, and were only submitted in 1921 for approval.

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION.

From the subjoined list it will be seen that the delegates at the first meetings of the year (January 8th and 15th) were asked to approve of extensive purchases, including a variety of manufactories, and additions to properties which had been under the control of the C.W.S. for many years. Jointly with the Scottish Wholesale Society, the English directors obtained approval of the acquisition of land in India, Ceylon, and West Africa, in the first two cases for the enlargement of tea growing, and for the collection and marketing of palm kernels in the case of British West Africa, where the societies now own several depôts and plots of land to provide facilities for existing business and future development.

Large sums of money were involved in all the enterprises enumerated in the records below. The amount expended upon them by the English C.W.S. was £721,181, and by the English and Scottish societies together, £1,167,728. The land acquired contained 139,495 square yards, in addition to 32,224½ acres, of which 83,708 square yards and 378½ acres were mainly for industrial and farming necessities in England, the remainder representing the joint purchases of both societies.

The list, sanctioned at the January meetings, was as follows :—

Style.	Sq. yds.	Place.	Price.	Use.
			£	
Freehold land and buildings..	5,642	Manchester	105,285	Extension of Central Premises, Balloon St.
Freehold land and buildings, also leasehold land	1,615 16,138	Dobcross	65,322	Fancy flannel shirting weaving.
Freehold land and buildings, including 92 dwelling houses	39 (acres)	Buckfastleigh	180,000	Manufacture of woollen goods.
Freehold land and buildings..	2,000	Derby	39,250	Children's boots and shoes.
Freehold land and buildings, also leasehold land	4,276 3,264	Birmingham	95,750	Furniture making.
Freehold land and buildings ..	1,110	Chester	25,000	Shirt manufacture.
,, ,, ,, ..	3,741	Longton	28,500	Pottery.
,, ,, ,, ..	2,693	Sheffield	14,000	Cutlery manufacture.
,, ,, ,, ..	5,700	Bristol	30,650	Cabinet making.
,, ,, ,, ..	1,191	Crewe	400	Dwelling houses, adjoining clothing factory.
,, ,, ,, ..	1,102	Clitheroe	5,500	Extension Agricultural Department.
,, ,, ,, ..	23 (acres)	Gisburn	19,060	Cattle market.
,, ,, ,, ..	175 (acres)	Whalley	12,383	Farming.
,, ,, ,, ..	558	Whalley	700	Dwelling houses.
,, ,, ,, ..	50 (acres)	Clitheroe	3,945	Agriculture.
,, ,, ,, ..	823	Crewe	700	Agriculture.
,, ,, ,, ..	835	Nottingham	8,380	Saleroom extension.
,, ,, ,, ..	96	Newcastle	550	Future extensions,
,, ,, ,, ..	182	,, ...	1,300	Central premises.
,, ,, ,, ..	1,966	Northampton	1,100	Extension to depôt.
,, ,, ,, ..	588	Fleetwood.....	3,785	Fish-curing depôt.
,, ,, ,, ..	2,947	Hull	5,800	Extension to preserve works.
,, ,, ,, ..	2,420	Hull	4,600	Removal of baking depôt.
,, ,, ,, ..	212	Bruton	185	Dairy extension.
,, ,, ,, ..	65 (acres)	Shilbottle	2,400	Colliery extension.
,, ,, ,, ..	1,080	Carlisle	2,650	Butter blending.
Freehold land	388	Manchester	750	Tobacco factory extension.
,, ,, ...	17 (acres)	Gateshead.....	9,372	Site for cabinet factory.
,, ,, ...	4½ (acres)	Delph	450	Extension of Pingle Mill.
,, ,, ...	5 (acres)	Birmingham	3,124	Adjoining cycle and jewellery works.
,, ,, ...	20,978	Salford	11,000	Saw mill extension.
Leasehold land and buildings..	2,163	Manchester	29,300	—
Totals.....	83,708 square yards & 378½ (acres)		711,191	

Purchases of the two societies jointly were :—

30,142 acres of land in India for £377,834.
1,769 acres of land in Ceylon for £24,853.

33,387 square yards of leasehold land in West Africa, and 21,499 square yards of freehold land for £2,110.

The leasehold land known as Lower Gun Wharf, High Street, Wapping, London, together with the buildings, cranes, &c., thereon, and plant, &c., therein, for £41,750.

All the above transactions had been just completed when the country was overcome by the great trade depression, which began to be felt by all classes very keenly in autumn of 1920.

Further purchases were recorded at the official meetings which took place in the subsequent quarter—April 2nd and 9th, when the accounts for the half year ended December 25th, 1920, were presented. These purchases are shown in the following table :—

Style.	Sq. yds.	Place.	Price.	Use.
			£	
Freehold land and buildings ..	3¼ (acres)	Cardiff	202,000	Biscuit factory.
,, ,, ,, ..	5¼ (acres)	Knottingley	6,000	Earthenware jar pottery
,, ,, ,, ..	743	Newcastle	4,000	Increased cattle department accommodation.
,, ,, ,, ..	2,116	Melksham (Som.)..	1,040	Housing accommodation for dairy workers
Totals	2,859 square yards & 8½ (acres).		213,040	

The next meetings were held on July 2nd and 9th, when the purchases accepted included manufacturing concerns, dairies, and provisions for extensions. They were :—

Style.	Sq. yds.	Place.	Price.	Use.
			£	
Freehold land and buildings ..	1,341	Middleton Junction	1,300	Houses adjoining jam works.
,, ,, ,, ..	3 (acres)	Fole (Uttoxeter) ..	6,400	Dairy.
,, ,, ,, ..	1 (acre)	Claydon (Ipswich)..	9,000	Dairy.
,, ,, ,, ..	768	Bradford	2,100	Green fruit depôt.
,, ,, ,, ..	144	Yarmouth.....	125	Extension to fish trade.
,, ,, ,, ..	3,420	Manchester	15,345	Manufacture of bespoke clothing.
,, ,, ,, ..	2⅛ (acres)	Norwich	79,000	Boot manufactory.
,, ,, ,, ..	430	Littleborough	1,193	For future extensions.
,, ,, ,, ..	1,853	Tottenham (London)..	2,875	For garage.
,, ,, ,, ..	207	Whitechapel (London)..	750	——
Freehold land	692	Street	300	Adjoining C.W.S. tannery.
Leasehold land and buildings..	12,230	Patricroft (Manchester)..	88,500	Rope and twine works.
Totals	21,085 square yards & 6⅛ (acres).		206,888	

The last meetings of the year occurred on October 1st and 8th, when there was not a single purchase to be recorded. New capital which had been raised in recent years had been largely expended, and from Autumn of 1920 to Autumn of 1921 national trade and that of the C.W.S. had persistently gone from bad to worse.

Trading Figures.

The divisional and general meetings in January, 1921, being the

first C.W.S. business meetings of the year, the accounts dealt with were for the quarter ended September 25th, 1920. The decline in the trade of the country had scarcely shown itself, and the C.W.S. announced an increase of £4,214,515 on the turnover of the corresponding period of the previous year, and in the supplies from its own productive works an increase of £2,111,578, or 31½ per cent. The turnover (deposits and withdrawals) at the bank of the C.W.S. also showed an advance of £32,976,934, or 26 per cent.

In April the report and balance sheet for the half year from June 25th to December 25th, 1920, was issued. The directors had to call the attention of society-members to the effect which the world-wide trade depression was likely to have on co-operative business operations. It was announced that the sales for the previous year amounted to £105,439,628, this being an increase of £16,090,310 on the previous year and an outstanding record. The half year's sales also showed an increase of £6,187,101. Supplies from C.W.S. productive works pointed to an increase of £3,305,243, the value of trade for the half year being £17,321,895, making the total for the year £33,404,466, or £7,519,436 more than in 1920.

Several losses, however, appeared in some of the distributive departments and productive works, but after charging all expenses of production and distribution, interest on share and loan capital, depreciation of property, and crediting transfers from reserve balances account and repayment of balance of excess profits duty, there was a disposable balance of £68,078. A dividend of 1d. in the £ was recommended to members and ½d. in the £ to non-members. This absorbed £211,112, which was met by deducting £143,034 from the reserve fund, added to the disposable balance of £68,078. After this deduction the reserve fund stood at the substantial sum of £1,040,588, representing an increase of £409,768. This fund, however, had been amply strengthened by having had placed to it £710,209, which was a repayment from excess profits duty, the total having been received from this source during the past year amounting to £935,830.

Societies were warned in the committee's report that the C.W.S. and the movement generally had an embarrassing period to face. This proved to be true.

The figures for the total trade presented in the subsequent report (on July 2nd and 9th) indicated a general decrease in trade, particularly in values. These are reproduced below.

It was not till the members were brought to review the half-yearly report and balance sheet covering the period for the first half of the present year (December 25th, 1920, to June 25th, 1921) that falling trade and values of goods in stock were fully realised. A net loss of £3,434,620. 7s. 4d. created a certain amount of consternation, and resulted in greater press publicity for the C.W.S. than it had ever obtained, perhaps, in its history. The tremendous loss, however, was accepted with a deal of sympathetic consideration. In view of

the extraordinary conditions of trade and finance, and with thickening ranks of unemployed, coupled with the vast trading operations of the C.W.S. and extensive stock to meet the demands of millions of co-operators, the fall was regarded as inevitable.

How was it met ? Out of the substantial reserves of the society, which had been consolidated in times of prosperity, and in accordance with its prudent policy of past years. The loss was charged against the reserve fund, and was principally covered by transferring £2,000,000 from the depreciation fund and £1,000,000 from the special insurance fund of the society. When all had been cleared up there was still in the reserve fund a sum of £584,115. There was also £884,974 left in insurance fund, and £2,558,825. 10s. 4d. (excluding special writings off amounting to £530,408. 18s.) remaining in the depreciation fund. It may be said that the trial through which the C.W.S. had to pass during the excitement swollen by the loss of nearly 3½ millions sterling served to prove the great financial and moral strength of the movement. After the balance sheet had been accepted, the trade of the society continued in a depressed condition, and a vigorous trade crusade became necessary.

Figures relating to the sales of the C.W.S., and supplies from its own productive works, from June, 1920, to June, 1921, appear in the undergoing table, the decreases and increases being based on the corresponding period of the previous year :—

Period.	Sales.	Increase or Decrease.	I. or D. per cent.	Period.	Supplies from Prod'tive Works.	Increase or Decrease.	I. or D. per cent.
Quarter ended	£	£		Quarter ended	£	£	
Sep. 25, 1920	26,310,402	4,214,515 I.	19 I.	Sep. 25, 1920	8,794,135	2,111,578 I.	31½ I.
Half y'r ended				Half y'r ended			
Dec. 25, 1920	54,213,760	6,187,101 I.	12⅞ I.	Dec. 25, 1920	17,321,895	3,305,243 I.	23½ I.
Quarter ended				Quarter ended			
Mar. 26, 1921	21,291,557	3,384,694 D.	13⅝ D.	Mar. 26, 1921	7,468,717	602,696 D.	7⅞ D.
Half y'r ended				Half y'r ended			
June 25, 1921	42,341,576	8,884,292 D.	17¼ D.	June 25, 1921	14,182,684	2,020,576 D.	12⅝ D.

The banking department of the C.W.S. deals with deposits and withdrawals of co-operative societies, trade unions, and friendly societies, workmen's club and other mutual organisations. Its accounts indicate the tremendous turnover of these working-class bodies, as far as their connection with the C.W.S. Bank is concerned :—

Period.	Number of Soc'ties.	Deposits and Withdrawals	Corresponding Period.	Increase or Decrease.	I. or D. per cent.
		£	£	£	
Quarter ended Sept. 25th, 1920....	6,671	159,334,255	126,357,321	32,976,934 I.	26 I.
Half year ended Dec. 25th, 1920....	7,637 *2,339	331,308,844	273,947,536	57,361,308 I.	20⅞ I.
Quarter ended March 26th, 1921....	8,618 *2,741	154,415,853	155,143,715	727,862D.	⅝ D.
Half year ended June 25th, 1921....	9,269 *3,065	296,522,347	314,463,788	17,941,441D.	5⅝ D.

* Individuals

Notices of Motion.

The foregoing trading statistics will convey to those not closely acquainted with the work of the C.W.S. the great industrial undertakings now in its control. The financial accounts and general conditions connected with productive works and distributive departments in all parts of the kingdom provide comprehensive items for discussion and inquiry at the meetings of delegates convened quarterly. But the agenda is usually weighted with other matters, ranging from donations to local charities to international trade, and the founding of a co-operative college. And so forth.

The society began the year very well from the point of view of resolutions. It was voted to grant £5,000 to the relief of distress, £1,000 to the League of Nations Union, and to the Co-operative Party, (the political organisation of the movement), £1,000 for 1920.

New Basis of Voting.

Several alterations in the rules of the society were effected at the first meetings of the year in January. The most important for the time being were the changes necessary to provide for a new basis of voting at C.W.S. meetings. Heretofore, voting was apportioned, according to membership of societies. It was resolved, however, that the basis be altered from one vote for every 500 members or fractional part, to one vote in virtue of membership, one additional vote for the first complete £10,000 trade, and one additional vote for every complete £20,000 trade with the C.W.S. in each year. This shifted the voting power from strength of a society's mere membership to that of loyalty or consistency towards the trading principle of co-operation.

International Trade.

Unemployment had begun to affect the economic conditions of the people seriously. Largely with this object in mind, a resolution was adopted for the promotion of international trade between co-operative movements of different countries to relieve unemployment, to steady the co-operative market, and bring down prices. There was scant chance indeed of any immediate improvement being brought about in this way, but the C.W.S. was urged to take the necessary steps towards its achievement, and to consider at once any action essential to international trade, "which alone," concluded the resolution, "can make co-operation independent of capitalistic sources of supply." To say the least about it, international trade between co-operative societies could not be developed rapidly enough to make any appreciable difference to the temporary period of acute distress.

A Referendum.

Among the alterations of rules at these meetings was one (Rule 8) which brought into operation a referendum to be obtained by a

requisition signed by or on behalf of not less than twenty share-holding societies. This could be taken with respect to any proposal to be submitted to the general meetings, and if carried out in accordance with the conditions made in the new rule, would be voted upon by all societies who would have supplied to them forms or voting papers for this purpose. Probably the effect of this would be to secure a more democratic verdict with regard to vital questions which may have been dealt with at previous meetings.

The Co-operative College.

At the quarterly meetings in April, the most outstanding notices of motion were associated with the desire among many co-operators for better organised educational facilities in the movement. The question of establishing a Co-operative College Fund which had been adopted at previous meetings of the C.W.S. was again put forward.

Walsall Society moved that a donation of £10,000 be granted to the fund, this to be payable in quarterly instalments extending over two years. The C.W.S. directorate was to be accorded representation on the governing body of the college.

These resolutions had been adjourned from the last quarterly meetings.

The Royal Arsenal Society, Woolwich, pleaded in a notice of motion for a co-ordination of present and prospective efforts of the co-operative and trade union movements for the furtherance of adult education ; the motion also called for mutual helpful arrangements being entered into by the co-operative movement with one or all the colleges used in connection with adult education ; it further desired a formulation of recommendations which would enable the C.W.S. to assist the co-operative movement to establish closer relations with trade unionists for the co-ordinated organisation of adult education.

Both motions were adjourned.

These motions were on the agenda again for the quarterly meetings in July. The Woolwich Society withdrew the one in its name, whilst the meeting by a small majority of six votes adopted the resolution submitted by the Walsall Society that the donation of £10,000 be given, the conditions to be observed being those stated in the motion placed before the previous meetings.

To conclude this subject, it may be remarked that at the October meetings the Woolwich Society moved a resolution to rescind the adopted proposal of the Walsall Society. This was moved and seconded, but was not put to the vote, in view of a request for a referendum having been sent in under the new rule referred to in a foregoing part of this article.

Towards the end of October a special voting paper was distributed in accordance with the rule governing the process of referendum,

Woolwich Society having obtained the necessary number of societies to support its claim. The voting paper was to be returned to the C.W.S. premises, Balloon Street, by 12 o'clock noon on Thursday, October 27th.

At the July meetings several donations were voted to charitable organisations, also £1,000 to the Co-operative Party, this being the subscription of the C.W.S. for 1921.

Special Committee of Inquiry.

It was at the October meetings of the C.W.S. that the delegates had to face the most serious situation, not only of the year, but perhaps in the career of the society. The grave position due to a reduction in the trade of the society and the drastic writing down of the value of stocks has already been illustrated. Included in the accounts, however, was an item of £676,837 described as the proportion of loss which the society had to bear jointly with the business transactions between it and the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, the English Society's share being three parts of the entire loss.

This had been foreshadowed by a brief report prepared by the auditors of the two societies at the previous quarterly meetings. It had evidently become known among some co-operators that the auditors were hinting at certain business transactions which, in the opinion of many, necessitated an investigation.

There were two or three resolutions bearing on the auditors' short statement, which was the precursor of a fuller report read at the October meetings ; briefly this report referred to dealings in rubber to which the loss involved with the S.C.W.S. was attributed.

After keen discussion at all the divisional and general meetings a notice of motion sent in by the Stockport and other societies was adopted. It was as follows :—

(1) That a Special Committee be appointed to investigate and report upon the administration and management of the Joint English and Scottish Wholesale Societies in connection with the loss as shown in the accounts for the half year ended December 25th, 1920, and the still further anticipated serious loss as reported by the auditors and directors.

(2) That the Special Committee consist of six persons, two to be elected from the Manchester District, one from the Newcastle District, and one from the London District, to be elected by nomination and voting in the same manner as the election of directors.

(3) That the societies associated with the Scottish Wholesale Society be invited to appoint two persons to make up the number in such manner as they may determine.

(4) That the six persons elected have full power to call for all accounts, documents, and personal evidence from whomsoever it may be deemed necessary.

Shortly afterwards the necessary steps were taken to obtain nominations for the special committee. The list of persons nominated

had to be returned to headquarters in Balloon Street not later than November 12th. Following upon this, voting papers were to be distributed.

Detailed Accounts and Canvassing.

Other notices of motion to which the delegates at the October meetings agreed, included one from Ashington Society, resolving that the accounts of the various factories or works be shown separate on the balance sheet as prior to 1914. This would include detailed accounts of productive concerns entered into since 1914.

It was also decided on the motion of the Failsworth Society that canvassing in connection with C.W.S. elections was not to be allowed, except to the extent of one circular at each election by or on behalf of candidates, under penalty of disqualification. Canvassing was described as embracing solicitation of votes by the issuing of circulars, advertising, writing, or speaking on behalf of candidates, or corruptly giving any consideration as an inducement whereby candidates would obtain a preference or an advantage in elections.

The resolution sets up a form of arbitration to deal with disputes arising in connection with any candidature.

Vigorous Trade Crusade.

The records enumerated in this contribution embrace the main items in the work of the C.W.S. up to the end of October, and include the last quarterly meetings of the society for the year 1921. At the time of writing there were signs of a little unrest in the movement owing to the trade losses of the C.W.S. as announced in the balance sheet for the first half of the year, and issued in October. This, however, was very largely allayed by the assurance that the financial position of the C.W.S. was still one of great stability, after the huge loss had been covered by substantial reserve funds.

The most important matter to which the C.W.S. was turning its attention at the time was the necessity of restoring its trading position due to the losses incurred as the result of a wide-spread trade depression, unemployment, and the cutting down of the value of stocks which had been bought when market prices were very high. It was felt that the greatest need was that of a vigorous trade crusade with the purpose of stimulating more direct interest among co-operators for the welfare of their own stores. Despite the fact that the family earnings have been seriously decreased through bad trade and lower rates of pay, along with trade disputes, such as the coal-miners' long and intense struggle, co-operators, as organised consumers, have the special advantage of restoring their own co-operative trade by spending more of the income at their disposal with their societies.

In this way the factories of the C.W.S. would be favourably affected, and the workpeople would be more fully employed.

C.W.S. PRODUCTIVE WORKS.

Particulars of Supplies and Results of Working for Years ended June 26th, 1920, and June 25th, 1921.

	Year Ended June 26th, 1920.			Year Ended June 25th, 1921.		
	Supplies.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.	Supplies.	Net Loss.	Rate per £.
	£	£	s. d.	£	£	s. d.
Biscuit, &c., Works : Crumpsall and Cardiff	707,313	32,297	0 10⅞	814,093	*b*42,284	1 0⅜
Preserve, &c., Works : Middleton, Hull, Clayton, Reading, Acton	2,949,655	*a*19,897	0 1½	2,067,046	905,277	8 9
Soap Works : Irlam, Silvertown, Dunston	3,909,386	8,477	0 0½	3,605,455	*b*184,589	1 0½
Flour and Provender Mills : Dunston, Silvertown, Sun, Star, Avonmouth, Sowerby Bridge, Halifax, Slaithwaite, Hull, Liverpool, and Bristol Cake	10,577,099	80,261	0 1⅝	14,244,563	*b*164,687	0 2⅜
Tobacco Factory : Manchester	1,582,163	*a*17,951	0 2⅝	1,569,722	33,277	0 5
Lard Refinery : West Hartlepool	431,643	*a*11,077	0 6⅛	354,657	*b* 6,259	0 4⅛
Margarine Works : Higher Irlam	2,999,540	*a*54,075	0 4½	2,301,289	*b* 32,734	0 3⅜
Printing Works : Longsight, Reddish, Leicester, Pelaw	729,680	14,973	0 4⅞	815,513	67,618	1 7⅞
Rope and Twine Works : Patricroft	—	—	—	† 34,496	5,026	2 10⅞
Colliery : Shilbottle	76,023	*a*12,585	3 3⅝	90,543	5,205	1 1⅝
Flannel, Blanket, &c., Mills : Littleborough, Delph, Diggle, Dobcross	241,869	9,467	0 9⅜	283,772	35,024	2 5½
Hosiery Factory : Huthwaite	495,137	5,985	0 2⅞	429,208	17,041	0 9½
Corset Factories : Desborough, Bristol	186,298	5,266	0 6⅝	154,627	16,190	2 1⅛
Shirt Factories : Broughton, Sheffield, Pelaw, Cardiff	648,671	4,880	0 1⅝	560,153	74,495	2 7⅞
Woollen Mills : Batley, Bradford, Buckfastleigh	271,483	*a* 4,688	0 4⅓	362,784	28,550	1 6⅞
Weaving Sheds : Bury, Chorley, Radcliffe	839,004	23,648	0 6⅜	624,408	8,386	0 3⅛
Clothing Factories : Broughton, Leeds, Crewe, Hebden Bridge, Pelaw, Brislington, Cardiff	885,081	41,687	0 11⅛	755,606	12,011	0 3⅜
Boot and Shoe Works, Fellmongering and Tanneries : Leicester, Derby, Heckmondwike, Leeds, Rushden, Pontefract, Buckfastleigh, Grappenhall, Street	1,897,661	43,932	0 5½	1,838,171	177,382	1 11⅛
Cabinet Factories : Broughton, Birmingham, Pelaw, Bristol	329,736	*a* 2,949	0 2⅛	395,187	99,220	5 0½
Brush Works : Leeds	93,367	2,037	0 5⅛	76,083	*b* 116	0 0½
Iron Works : Keighley	64,084	743	0 2⅜	72,407	*b* 2,300	0 7⅛
Bucket and Fender Works : Dudley	88,631	14,792	3 4	73,412	*b* 1,367	0 4⅜
Tinplate Works : Birtley	13,314	989	1 5⅜	12,842	559	0 10⅜
Paint and Varnish Works : Rochdale	82,385	5,799	1 4⅜	78,533	*b* 759	0 2¼
	30,099,233	172,011	0 1¼	31,614,570	1,050,166	0 7⅞

(*a*) Loss. (*b*) Profit. † 21 Weeks.

C.W.S. PROGRESS

From Commencement in March, 1864, to December, 1920.

Year Ended	Number of Members belonging to C.W.S. Share-holding Societies.	Share Capital.	Net Sales.	Net Profit.	Average Dividend Paid per £.
		£	£	£	d.
October, 1864 (30 weeks)	18,337	2,455	51,857	267	1½
„ 1865	24,005	7,182	120,754	1,858	3½
„ 1866	31,030	10,968	175,489	2,310	3
January, 1868 (65 weeks)	59,349	11,276	331,744	4,411	3
„ 1869	74,737	14,888	412,240	4,862	2¾
„ 1870	79,245	16,556	507,217	4,248	1½
„ 1871 (53 weeks)	89,880	19,015	677,734	7,626	2¼
„ 1872	114,588	24,410	758,764	7,867	2¼
„ 1873	134,276	31,352	1,153,132	11,116	2¼
„ 1874	168,985	48,126	1,636,950	14,233	2
„ 1875	198,608	60,930	1,964,829	20,684	2
„ 1876	249,516	78,249	2,247,395	26,750	2¾
„ 1877 (53 weeks)	276,522	94,590	2,697,366	36,979	2¾
„ 1878	274,649	103,091	2,827,052	29,189	2
„ 1879	305,161	117,657	2,705,625	34,959	2½
December, 1879 (50 weeks)	331,625	130,615	2,645,331	42,764	2¾
„ 1880	361,523	146,061	3,339,681	42,090	2¾
„ 1881	367,973	156,052	3,574,095	46,850	2⅝
„ 1882	404,006	171,940	4,038,238	49,658	2⅝
„ 1883	433,151	186,692	4,546,889	47,885	2⅝
„ 1884 (53 weeks)	459,734	207,080	4 675,371	54,491	2¾
„ 1885	507,772	234,112	4,793,151	77,630	3⅜
„ 1886	558,104	270,679	5,223,179	83,328	3½
„ 1887	604,800	300,953	5,713,235	65,141	2½
„ 1888	634,196	318,583	6,200,074	82,490	2⅝
„ 1889 (53 weeks)	679,336	342,218	7,028,944	101,984	3½
„ 1890	721,316	434,017	7,429,073	126,979	3½
„ 1891	751,269	473,956	8,766,430	135,008	3½
„ 1892	824,149	523,512	9,300,904	98,532	2½
„ 1893	873,698	570,149	9,526,167	84,156	2½
„ 1894	910,104	598,496	9,443,938	126,192	2¾
„ 1895 (53 weeks)	930,985	635,541	10,141,917	192,766	3¾
„ 1896	993,564	682,656	11,115,056	177,419	3½
„ 1897	1,053,564	728,749	11,920,143	135,561	2¾
„ 1898	1,118,158	775,536	12,574,748	231,256	3½
„ 1899	1,179,609	821,224	14,212,375	286,250	4
„ 1900	1,249,091	883,791	16,043,889	289,141	4
„ 1901 (53 weeks)	1,315,235	948,944	17,642,082	288,321	4
„ 1902	1,392,399	1,006,894	18,397,559	336,369	4
„ 1903	1,445,099	1,043,031	19,333,142	297,304	4
„ 1904	1,594,145	1,196,703	19,809,196	332,374	4
„ 1905	1,635,527	1,307,341	20,785,469	304,568	4
„ 1906	1,703,564	1,388,338	22,510,035	410,680	4
„ 1907 (53 weeks)	1,768,935	1,476,021	24,786,568	488,571	4
„ 1908	1,845,415	1,570,732	24,902,842	371,497	4
„ 1909	1,925,517	1,657,305	25,675,938	549,080	4
„ 1910	1,991,576	1,740,619	26,567,833	462,469	4
„ 1911	2,067,776	1,830,511	27,892,990	579,913	4
„ 1912 (53 weeks)	2,160,191	1,916,151	29,732,154	613,007	4
„ 1913	2,272,496	2,039,054	31,371,976	636,119	4
„ 1914	2,336,460	2,130,959	34,910,813	840,069	5
„ 1915	2,535,972	2,284,758	43,101,747	1,086,962	6
„ 1916	2,653,227	2,653,774	52,230,074	1,519,005	5
„ 1917	2,748,277	2,981,133	57,710,132	1,150,732	3
„ 1918 (53 weeks)	2,854,584	3,195,737	65,167,960	(*a*) 16,488	1
„ 1919	3,088,136	3,898,134	89,349,318	31,183	—
„ 1920	3,341,411	4,270,408	105,439,628	(*a*) 64,210	½
			947,838,432	13,002,455	3

(*a*) Loss.

C.W.S. ESTATES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

TOTALS—LAND.

Situation of Property.	Area.				Nominal Original Value.
	Acres.	Roods.	Poles.	Yards	£
Roden (Salop)	1039	2	31	0	39442
Marden (Hereford)	127	0	32	0	17530
Coldham (Cambridgeshire)	3235	0	19	0	156497
Clitheroe (Lancashire)	838	3	33	0	27152
Rixton (Lancashire)	160	1	32	0	22402
Warburton (Cheshire)	1777	1	39	0	154000
Crewe (Cheshire)	3773	2	24	17	109097
Adlingfleet, Goole (Yorkshire)	3927	0	11	0	102579
Down Ampney (Gloucestershire)	4061	2	0	0	69191
Compton Bassett (Wiltshire)	4650	3	33	0	76575
Stoughton (Leicestershire)	5585	3	0	0	127812
Hetton and Holburn (Northumberland)	3862	1	13	10	97604
Total—Farms and Estates	33040	0	27	27	999881
Total—Land	34136	0	4	25	2349684

CO-OPERATIVE TEA PLANTATIONS IN THE EAST.

(Owned by the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies.)

CEYLON :—	Acres.
Mahavilla Group	983
Westhall Group	1,931
Bowhill Estate	744
Nagastenne Estate	487

CEYLON—*con.* :—	Acres.
Baharundrah Estate	567
Kolapatna Estate	642
Gingranoya Estate	352
	5,706

INDIA ESTATES:

MANGO RANGE :—	Gross Acreage
Mango Range, including Provident	4,622
Attikunna and Glenfruin	176
Strathern and Maryland	999
Trevelyan	214
Marian	125
Richmond	594
Harewood and Kintail	1,046
	7,776

MANANTODDY :—	
Talapoya	1,404
Teddington and Glen Bolton	745
Cherakera	1,372
Jessie	994
Clifton	214
Tatamala	921
Thavenjal	320
	5,970

KALPETTA :—	Gross Acreage
Auda Tode and Muricarp	890
Ripon, Anarcarp and Palatoor	1,400
Kuppa Mudi	1,313
Emily	446
Nellimunda	803
	4,852

ANNAMALLAIS :—	
Murugalli	1,283
Sheikal Mudi	1,261
Paralai	2,687
Kalianapandal	2,936
	8,167

ASSAM :—	
Dimakusi	6,000
Wilde's	1,449
Deckajuli	10,000
	17,449

Totals of English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies' Tea Plantation Acreage	
Ceylon	5,706
South India	26,765
Assam	17,449
Acres	49,920

LANDMARKS IN C.W.S. HISTORY.

1864.
Mar. 14. C.W.S. commenced business at 3, Cooper Street, Manchester.
1868.
June 1. Kilmallock Depôt opened.
1869.
Mar. 1. First Balloon Street Warehouse opened.
July 12. Limerick Depôt opened.
1872.
May —. Newcastle Premises opened.
Aug. —. Manchester Boot Dept. opened.
Oct. 14. Deposit and Loan Dept. commenced.
1873.
Jan. 13. Crumpsall Works purchased.
April 14. Armagh Depôt opened.
June 2. Manchester Drapery begun.
July 14. Waterford Depôt opened.
Sept. 15. Leicester Boot and Shoe Works (Duns Lane) commenced.
1874.
Feb. 2. Tralee Depôt opened.
Mar. 9. London Branch opened in the Minories.
Mar. —. Joint Action with Scottish C.W.S. begun.
May —. Mr. James Crabtree retires from the chairmanship. Mr. J. T. W. Mitchell succeeds.
Sept. 20. Durham Soap Works purchased.
Dec. —. Leicester Factory (Duns Lane) purchased.
1875.
April 2. Liverpool Purchasing Dept. commenced.
June 15. Manchester Drapery Warehouse, Dantzic Street, opened.
1876.
Feb. 21. New York Depôt established.
May 24. S.S. *Plover* purchased.
July 16. Manchester Furnishing Dept. commenced.
C.W.S. Loan and Deposit Dept. becomes the Banking Dept.
1877.
Jan. 15. Cork Depôt established.
April —. Bugle Horn Colliery taken over by C.W.S.
1879.
Jan. 18. Garston Depôt commenced.
Feb. 21. S.S. *Pioneer* launched.
Mar. 24. Rouen Depôt opened.
June 30. Goole Forwarding Depôt opened.
1880.
Jan. 1. C.W.S. *Annual* first issued.
June 30. S.S. *Plover* sold.
Aug. 14. Heckmondwike Boot and Shoe Works commenced.
1881.
Jan. 12. Leman Street (London) Premises opened.
S.S *Cambrian* purchased.
June 6. Copenhagen Depôt opened.
1882.
Mar. —. Bugle Horn Colliery sold.
Oct. 31. Leeds Saleroom opened.
Nov. 1. Tea Dept. (London) commenced.
1883.
July —. Direct Cargo of Tea for C.W.S. comes from China.
S.S. *Marianne Briggs* bought and renamed *Unity*.
1884.
Sept. 29. Bristol Depôt com'ced business.
Oct. 6. S.S. *Progress* launched.
Hamburg Depôt opened.
1885.
Aug. 25. Huddersfield Saleroom opened.
1886.
April 22. Nottingham Saleroom opened.
Aug. 25. Longton Depôt opened.
Oct. 12. S.S. *Federation* launched.
1887.
Mar. 14. Batley Mill commenced.
Aug. 29. Heckmondwike Currying Dept. commenced.
Oct. —. Employees' Sick and Burial Club instituted.
Nov. 2. Manufacture of Cocoa and Chocolate commenced.
Nov. 2. London (Leman Street) New Premises opened.
Enderby Boot Factory opened.
1888.
July —. S.S. *Equity* launched.
1890.
May 16. Blackburn Saleroom opened.
June 10. Leeds Clothing Factory opened.
Oct. 22. Northampton Saleroom opened.
1891.
Mar. 14. Land Purchased at Broughton.
April 18. Dunston Corn Mill opened.
June —. Site for Irlam Works purchased.
Oct. 22. Cardiff Saleroom opened.
Nov. 4. Leicester Wheatsheaf Works op'd
Nov. 4. Aarhus Depôt opened.
1892.
May 5. Birmingham Saleroom opened.
1893.
May 8. Broughton Cabinet Factory op'd.
1894.
Jan. 1. Ship Canal opened for Traffic. S.S. *Pioneer* first Merchant Vessel to reach Manchester from oversea.
June —. Montreal Depôt established.
Oct. 2. Irlam Works opened.
Broughton Tailoring Factory commenced.
1895.
Jan. 23. Printing Dept. commenced.
Mar. 9. First C.W.S. Creamery acquired.
Mar. 16. Death of Mr. J. T. W. Mitchell.
Mr. J. Shillito elected Chairman.
June —. Durham Soap Works closed.
Aug. 5. Gothenburg Depôt opened.
Oct. —. S.S. *Unity* run down and sunk in River Seine.
1896.
April 24. West Hartlepool Laid Refinery purchased.
June 13. Roden Estate purchased.
June 26. Middleton Jam Works commenced.
July 1. The *Wheatsheaf* first published.
Denia Depôt opened.
Broughton Mantle, Shirt, and Underclothing Factories op'd.
1897.
Feb. 10. Northampton (Guildhall Road) Premises opened.
Mar. 1. Broughton New Tailoring Factory opened.

1897.
Mar. 22. London Tea Dept. New Premises opened.
Aug. 7. Sydney Depôt commenced.
1898.
Mar. 12. Tobacco Factory (Manchester) purchased.
April 1. Littleborough Flannel Mill acquired.
June 26. Odense Depôt opened.
July 11. Longsight Printing Works commenced.
1899.
Dec. 16. Rushden Boot Factory bought.
1900.
Jan. 19. Herning Bacon Factory bought.
April 14. Silvertown Flour Mills opened.
1901.
April 30. Sydney Tallow Factory bought.
July 27. Roden Convalescent Home op'd.
Sept. —. Bute Terrace (Cardiff) Premises opened.
Sept. 3. Tralee Bacon Factory begun.
1902.
April 9. Pershore Street (Birmingham) New Premises opened, and Cycle Depôt established.
May 1. Work commenced at Pelaw Drug Factory.
June 21. Nugawella and Weliganga (Ceylon) Tea Estates purchased.
Sept. 8. Luton Cocoa Works opened.
Sept. —. Work commenced at Pelaw Cabinet Factory.
Nov. 1. Launch of S.S. *Unity* (II.).
1903.
June 20. Trafford Wharf and land purchased.
July 1. Leicester Hosiery Factory taken over.
Oct. 24. Launch of S.S. *Fraternity*.
London Brushmaking transferred to Leeds.
1904.
Jan. 25. Employees start Thrift Fund.
Feb. 20. Marden Fruit Farm purchased.
April 18. New Drapery Buildings (Manchester) opened.
June 20. Brislington Butter Factory commenced.
July 1. Huddersfield Brush Factory taken over.
Collective Life Assurance instituted by C.I.S.
Silvertown Grocery Productive Factory built.
1905.
Feb. 15. Weaving commenced at Bury.
July 3. Desborough Corset Factory op'd.
Sept. 5. Esbjerg Depôt opened.
Oct. 26. Launch of S.S. *New Pioneer*.
1906.
Jan. 1. Rochdale Flour Mill taken over.
Mar. 31. Star Mill (Oldham) taken over.
April 28. Sun Flour Mill bought.
May 16. Broad Quay (Bristol) Premises opened.
Dec. —. East Coast Shipping Dept. closed
Dec. 15. Land and Buildings Purchased for Leeds New Brush Works.
1907.
Aug. —. Minimum Wage extended to all Adult Male Employees.
Oct. 1. Huddersfield New Saleroom op'd.
1908.
Feb. 4. Huthwaite Hosiery Factory op'd.
May 18. Silvertown Soap Works opened.
June 29. Keighley Ironworks, Dudley Bucket and Fender Works, and Birtley Tinplate Works taken over.
1909.
Jan. 16. Irish Creamery Conference. C.W.S. agree to transfer Creameries.
Feb. 15. Dunston Soap Works opened.
Feb. 22. Pontefract Fellmongering commenced.
April 5. Leicester Printing Works opened.
1910.
April 27. Avonmouth Flour Mill opened.
July 19. Leman Street (London) Extensions opened.
1911.
Dec. 1. Rochdale Paint Works commenced.
1912.
Mar. 16. Land Bought for Leeds Boot and Shoe Works.
July 3. C.W.S. Health Insurance Section formed.
Aug. 6. Wisbech Estate purchased.
Aug. 12. Radcliffe Weaving Shed opened.
Dec. 21. Delegates recommend Adoption of Minimum Wage for Girl and Women Workers on the "Congress" Scale.
1913.
Jan. 20. Sheffield Shirt Factory opened.
Denmark (Ceylon) Tea Estate purchased.
Lower Barcaple and Westhall (Ceylon) Tea Estates purchased.
Sept. 13. Clitheroe Estates purchased.
Sept. 26. First Food Ship (S.S. *Hare*) left Ship Canal for Dublin.
1914.
Depôt at Makene (W.A.) establ'd.
South Wynaad (Southern India) Tea Estates purchased.
Depôt at Accra (Gold Coast) established.
Freetown (Sierra Leone) Trading Store opened.
1915.
Feb. 12. Mr. John Shillito (Chairman) died
Mar. 5. Mr. T. Tweddell, Chairman.
July 1. Halifax Flour Mill taken over.
July 1. Sowerby Bridge Flour Mill taken over.
July 1. Colne Vale Flour Mill taken over.
July 1. Unity Cutlery Society and Federated Cutlers taken over.
1916.
Mar. 23. Mr. Thos. Tweddell (Chairman) died.
April 14. Mr. T. Killon appointed Chairman.
Aug. 19. Whitgift Estate (Goole) purchased.
Oct. 2. Rixton Estate purchased.
Oct. —. Weston Hall Estate purchased.
Nov. 1. Birmingham Pinafore, &c., Factory commenced.
Producer first published.
Dec. 5. African Oil Mill (Liverpool) acquired.
1917.
Jan. — Purchase of land at Port Harcourt, West Africa.
Jan. 13. Shilbottle Colliery purchased.
Feb. 3. Delph Mill taken over.
April 28. Clayton Vinegar Brewery bought.
Mar. —. Land acquired for extension purposes at Silvertown, Brislington, Delph and Wellingborough.
Purchase of Estate at Goole.
Farms acquired at Crewe and Clitheroe.
June —. Avenue Mill bought at Chorley.
Land and buildings acquired for extension purposes at London, Kettering, Huthwaite, Diggle and Poulton (Birkenhead).

1917.

Sept. —. Purchase of land at Lagos, W.A. Joint purchase (with the S.C.W.S.) of new Tea Plantations in Southern India and Ceylon; also land at Accra, West Africa.
Purchase of Dairy at Congleton; also Estates at Blakenhall (Crewe) and Coldham(Cambs.)
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester, London, Northampton and Keighley.

Dec. —. Purchase of Grain Warehouse at Newcastle, and Acton Works at London.
Land acquired at Irlam for extension purposes, also 12 Houses in Mills Hill Road, Middleton Junction.

1918.

Mar. —. Wilmington Flour Mills (Hull) acquired; also S.S. *Aegir* and 10 Lighters.
Purchase of Clothing Factory at Crewe, Woollen Mill at Diggle, and Dairy at Bruton.

June —. Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Irlam, Chorley, Shilbottle, Carmarthen and Bristol.

Sept. —. Purchase of Confectionery, &c., Works at Hull, and Tannery at Grappenhall (Warrington), also Estates at Warburton and Hetton and Holburn.
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester and Irlam.

Dec. —. Purchase of Nutclough Fustian Works, Hebden Bridge, also additional land at Irlam for extension purposes.

1919.

Mar. —. Purchase of Bee Flour Mills at Liverpool, Glass Works at Pendleton, Motor Garage at Chorlton Road, Manchester, Woods at Dereham (Norfolk), Farms at Roden and Down Ampney, Estate at Compton Bassett, Fish Premises at Lowestoft, Agricultural Trial Grounds at Derby.
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester and Acton (London).

June —. Purchase of Penner Cake Mills and Corset Factory at Bristol, Fish premises at Yarmouth, Tannery at Street, also Estate at Stoughton Grange (Leicester), and Farm at Hetton and Holburn.
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at London, Northampton, Bristol, Plymouth, Bedford, Kettering, Radcliffe and Manchester.

Sept. —. Purchase of Cabinet and Clothing Factories at Bristol, Printing Works at Reddish (Stockport).

1919.

Sept. —. Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Sheffield, Leeds, Longsight, Manchester and Irlam, also two houses at Congleton.

Dec. —. Purchase of Saw Mills and adjoining Land at Vere Street, Salford, also Weaving Factory at Hebden Bridge.
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at London, Cardiff, Bradford, Dudley, Carlisle, Birmingham, Irlam and Rocester; also Whalley Farm at Clitheroe, Rope Hall Farm and Cottages at Crewe, Glebe Lands at Compton Bassett and land at Denia (Spain).

1920.

Mar. —. Purchase of Fish premises at North Shields.
Land and Buildings acquired for extensions at Manchester, Birmingham, Northampton and Heckmondwike, also Cottages at Clitheroe.

June —. Purchase of Woollen Mills at Buckfastleigh (Devon), Cabinet Works at Birmingham, Auction Mart and Farm at Gisburn (Clitheroe).
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester, Irlam, Northampton, Carlisle, Crewe, Chester and Sheffield.

Sept. —. Purchase of Pottery at Longton, Boot Factory at Derby, Fish premises at Fleetwood, Woollen Mill at Dobcross, and Biscuit Factory at Cardiff.
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Manchester, Derby, Birmingham, Hebden Bridge, Bristol, Nottingham, Hull, Delph, London, &c.; also Land at Bensham (Gateshead).

Dec. —. Purchase of Land, &c., at Clitheroe, Pottery at Knottingley (Leeds), and Boot Factory at Norwich.
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Newcastle, Middleton, Reading, Street, and Melksham.

1921.

Mar. —. Purchase of Rope Works at Patricroft (Manchester), premises at Bradford for Green Fruit business, Land at Whalley, and Factory at Cheetham (Manchester).
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes at Yarmouth, Littleborough, and Herning (Denmark).

June —. Purchase of Dairies at Fole (Uttoxeter) and Claydon (Ipswich).

Sept. —. Purchase of property in Forth Place, Newcastle.
Land and Buildings acquired for extension purposes in Great Prescot Street, London.

DIRECTORS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD.

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OLIVER, Mr. J., 231, Cardigan Terrace, Gateshead-on-Tyne.
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THREADGILL, Mr. A. E., 4, Sherwood Road, Grays, Essex.
VARLEY, Mr. A., 36, Dallas Road, Lancaster.
WILKINS, Mr. H. J. A., "Beulah," Coombe Road, Teignmouth, Devon.
WOODHOUSE, Mr. G., "The Laurels," 27, Renals Street, Derby.
YOUNGS, Mr. H. J., 6, Portland Place, Old Palace Road, Norwich.

Mr. THOS. BRODRICK (Secretary).

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GALLACHER, Mr. W.
McCLEOD, Mr. A.
Mr. J. PEARSON (Secretary).
PURDIE, Mr. A.
STEWART, Mr. R. (President).
STIRLING, Mr. T. B.
THOMSON, Mr. G.
WEIR, Mr. A. B.
WILSON, Mr. G.

C.W.S Welfare Pictures.

(1). Irlam - The Dinner Hour.

(2) Irlam - The Works Dentist.

(3) Middleton - Engaging a Worker.

(4) Crompsall - A Cup of Tea.

FURNISHING SHOWROOMS AND WAREHOUSE, CHAMBERS STREET, EDINBURGH (above)
AND WAREHOUSE, LINKS PLACE, LEITH (below)

THE YEAR OF THE S.C.W.S.

IN keeping with most businesses the S.C.W.S. have experienced the reaction from the commercial prosperity of the war, and the reduced spending power of the people has left its imprint on the Wholesale's manufacturing and trading, as reflected in the statistics accompanying these notes. This poignant fact is one more demonstration of the fallacy of war, just as the events of the past year have resembled the periods succeeding previous conflicts. History teems with examples, but we will content ourselves to quote from fiction—that so often contains the kernel of truth. In that Scottish literary classic, "The Provost" (by John Galt), the Napoleonic wars touch the inhabitants of Gudetown, and in the trifling affairs of the parish which, of course, the civic worthy magnifies out of all proportion, we read :—

> "We were obligated to take on more borrowed money, in order to keep our credit, and likewise to devise ways and means, in the shape of public improvements, to raise an income to make up what was required. This led me to suggest the building of the new bridge, the cost of which, by contract, there was no reason to complain of, and the toll thereon, while the war lasted, not only paid the interest of the borrowed money by which it was built, but left a good penny in the nook of the treasurer's box for other purposes.
>
> "Had the war continued, and the nation to prosper thereby as it did, nobody can doubt that a great source of wealth and income was open to the town; but when peace came round, and our prosperity began to fall off, the traffic on the bridge grew less and less."

Extensions.

But to turn again to the S.C.W.S. figures which were seriously affected by the miners' dispute and the ship joiners' strike, both happily terminated, it must not be overlooked that this is only the third occasion during the society's history in which a decrease has been recorded. In many cases, the decreased trade has permitted of structural improvements being made for coping with that increased prosperity which it is hoped will soon dawn. In the Preserve Factory, Shieldhall, extensive alterations will provide additional comfort for the workers and improved methods of manufacture. Similarly, additional facilities have been provided at the Ayrshire Blanket Mills, Galston, and at the Dress Shirt Factory, Auchinleck, where a largely increased trade can be overtaken.

The S.C.W.S. carting stud continues to hold an envious place in the animal world, and premier honours have been obtained for their Clydesdale geldings, "Top Line" and "Bob," at numerous shows, including the Royal Show, Derby, and the Highland and Agricultural Show, Stirling. In addition to over 200 horses, this department now employs 70 commercial motors in the collection and distribution of merchandise. The rise of the motor section has been remarkable. The first commercial vehicle was purchased in 1905, and from that date

onwards there was a steady increase in the number acquired, although the war retarded the development. In the year 1910 the motors did 6 per cent of the cartage work, and at the end of 1920 they were doing 48 per cent. The steps by which this result was obtained, were :—

1914	24 per cent.	1918	28 per cent.
1915	26 ,,	1919	34 ,,
1916	22 ,,	1920	48 ,,
1917	25 ,,		

The recent extension to the stationery department warehouse permits of one section being entirely devoted to books, and the selection shown is probably the finest display in Scotland. The proportion of trade accorded Ettrick Mills, Selkirk, Boot and Cabinet Factory, Shieldhall, while far short of our productivity was, in view of the general depression, an indication that the quality of our goods is well maintained. We were equally fortunate with the output from Chancelot Junction and Crichie Mills ; Enniskillen and Bladnoch Creameries, Aberdeen Fish Curing Station, Grangemouth Soap Works, and Shieldhall Tobacco Factory.

In the Productive Grocery Department, Shieldhall, many of the commodities manufactured, however desirable as luxuries, are not strictly necessities of the every-day table, and the demand for these naturally decreased with the curtailed earnings of the people.

Since its inception six years ago, the sales of the Horticultural Department, Shieldhall, have increased year by year, the total for last season being well over £5,000. This is particularly encouraging when it is considered that with the termination of the war many plotholders and owners of small gardens, on whom the department largely depends for its trade, ceased to cultivate the soil, believing that the need for home production was no longer such a dire necessity. The numerous reports from co-operative plotholders and gardeners, many of whom have secured prizes at their local shows, testify to the excellent results to be obtained by using S.C.W.S. seeds. To cope with the increased demand for vegetable, bedding, and tomato plants, fruit trees, and all kinds of shrubs and bushes, ground has been acquired at West Kilbride, Ayrshire, and the conversion of this into a first-class nursery is being rapidly pushed forward. Houses heated on the most modern system for the propagating of tomato and greenhouse plants are being erected, while thousands of the best varieties of rose and fruit trees for planting out have been obtained from the most reliable sources.

Changes on the Directorial Board.

Since our last issue, death has removed two directors from our midst—Mr. John Bardner and Mr. Thomas Little, to whose memories their colleague, Mr. Wm. Gallacher, paid poetic tribute. Their respective successors —Messrs. Alex. McLeod, Dunfermline, and George

Wilson, Bannockburn—have had a long and valued experience in co-operative and public work, and they have taken up the duties of the departed, conscious of the responsibility involved, and desirous to be of further service to the co-operators of Scotland.

IN MEMORIAM.

JOHN BARDNER - *Died 15th January*, 1921.
THOMAS LITTLE - *Died 12th March*, 1921.

As one who stands close to the waters side,
And sees with tear-dimmed eyes the ship that bears
His dear-loved friends far out across the tide;
And sudden feels forlorn, alone, amid this world of cares:
Black darkness floods his soul and all is night;
There is no joy on earth; all life seems vain:
When, like a meteor, streams a ray of light
As starts the thought, we yet may meet again.

So stand I on the shores of ancient time
That ceaseless rolls around this world of men;
And mourn the friends I loved; gone to that clime
Whence none return: remote from human ken.
O mighty Death! how dreadful were thy blow
If after Life came darkness evermore;
This "fitful fever" o'er, how sweet to know
That we shall meet and greet the friends who've gone before.

W. GALLACHER.

Board Room,
95, Morrison Street, Glasgow.

SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

Productive Works.

	Transfers : Year, Dec. 1919.	Transfers : Year, Dec. 1920.	Half year ended June 25th, 1921. Transfer.	Net Profit.	Rate per £.
	£	£	£	£	£
Boot and Shoe Factory	536,525	779,902	217,332	2,413	2·66
Clothing Factories	485,105	690,339	231,823	—45,248	—46·84
Cabinet, Brush, &c., Factories	195,805	303,811	118,834	—14,442	—29·16
Printing Works	176,619	266,080	110,349	5,096	11·08
Tobacco Factory	634,250	727,531	336,627	3,775	2·69
Preserve and Grocery Productive Factories.....	1,029,130½	1,149,945	461,205	—20,252	—10·53
Tweed, Blanket, and Jute Mills	341,372	496,616	148,405	—26,437	—42·75
Flour and Meal Mills	2,775,745	3,088,218	1,532,377	79,592	12·46
Soap Works	410,663	480,629	178,370	14,489	19·49
Creameries	1,515,559	1,821,793	585,265	—	—
	8,100,773	9,804,864	3,920,587	— 1,014	—

NOTE.—Transfers include direct sales not charged through Distributive Departments.
— Loss.

SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

Progress from Commencement, December, 1868, to December, 1920.

Year ended.	No. of Shares Subscribed. Societies.	No. of Shares Subscribed. Employees.	Capital—includes Share, Deposits, Reserve, and Insurance Fund. £ s. d.	Net Sales. £ s. d.	Net Profit. £ s. d.	Average Dividend
Dec. 7, 1868	..	..	1,795 0 0	9,697 7 1	48 12 10	..
„ 5, 1869	..	..	5,174 17 4	81,094 2 6	1,303 15 0	3½d.
Nov. 19, 1870	..	..	12,542 17 9	105,249 12 4	2,418 9 2	4½d.
„ 18, 1871	..	..	18,009 3 1	162,658 7 7	4,131 8 6	5½d.
„ 16, 1872	18,708	..	30,931 5 3	262,530 19 10	5,435 3 9	4½d.
„ 15, 1873	21,271	..	50,433 3 5	384,489 4 0	7,445 19 1	4½d.
„ 14, 1874	24,651	..	48,981 15 6	409,947 7 9	7,553 5 2	4½d.
„ 13, 1875	27,112	..	56,750 16 0	430,169 7 11	8,232 11 6	4d.
„ 4, 1876	29,008	..	67,218 18 5	457,529 0 4	8,836 2 3	4d.
„ 3, 1877	31,945	..	72,568 12 9	589,221 9 3	10,925 8 3	4d.
„ 2, 1878	34,830	..	83,173 17 8	600,590 9 8	11,968 1 9	4d.
„ 2, 1879	36,008	..	93,076 18 9	630,097 11 10	14,988 19 6	4½d.
Oct. 30, 1880	41,584	..	110,179 2 11	845,221 15 6	21,685 4 8	6½d.
Nov. 5, 1881	49,073	..	135,713 7 10	986,646 13 8	23,981 9 0	6d.
„ 4, 1882	53,684	..	169,428 13 5	1,100,588 16 6	23,219 14 6	5½d.
„ 3, 1883	59,529	..	195,396 11 0	1,253,154 7 1	28,365 18 5	5½d.
„ 1, 1884	65,331	..	244,186 10 9	1,300,331 10 1	29,434 13 9	5½d.
Oct. 31, 1885	70,066	..	288,945 16 1	1,438,220 7 8	39,641 8 4	6½d.
Dec. 25, 1886	79,874	..	333,653 1 0	1,857,152 0 4	50,398 13 10	6½d.
„ 31, 1887	87,220	..	367,309 4 0	1,810,015 15 6	53,538 17 3	6½d.
„ 29, 1888	96,521	..	409,668 15 1	1,963,853 16 2	53,538 17 3	6½d.
„ 28, 1889	107,004	..	480,662 2 6	2,273,782 0 7	61,756 14 3	6½d.
„ 27, 1890	117,664	..	575,322 5 11	2,475,601 9 3	76,545 16 2	7d.
„ 26, 1891	131,086	..	671,108 14 1	2,828,036 16 7	89,090 12 7	6½d.
„ 31, 1892	139,022	..	778,494 13 4	3,104,768 8 7	96,027 3 10	6½d.
„ 30, 1893	149,164	2,726	869,756 5 10	3,135,562 7 8	89,116 6 1	6½d.
„ 29, 1894	159,820	2,629	940,835 15 7	3,056,582 18 9	88,452 0 3	6d.
„ 28, 1895	171,895	3,029	1,134,269 19 6	3,449,461 10 9	132,374 7 4	7d.
„ 26, 1896	189,763	3,194	1,237,317 14 0	3,822,580 17 6	174,982 0 2	7½d.
„ 25, 1897	211,859	4,308	1,286,624 4 4	4,405,854 3 7	156,341 12 1	8d.
„ 31, 1898	223,669	5,054	1,333,077 19 9	4,692,330 9 9	165,580 11 10	7d.
„ 30, 1899	240,873	5,629	1,457,645 4 10	5,014,189 0 5	213,896 15 3	8d.
„ 29, 1900	251,376	6,481	1,676,765 7 2	5,463,631 2 8	222,366 12 0	8d.
„ 28, 1901	270,920	7,059	1,929,113 18 5	5,700,743 7 3	231,686 9 9	8d.
„ 27, 1902	281,258	7,471	2,125,133 12 11	6,059,119 5 2	239,001 17 9	8d.
„ 26, 1903	301,479	8,487	2,314,955 14 8	6,395,487 15 10	239,321 18 11	8d.
„ 31, 1904	321,112	10,415	2,500,063 17 10	6,801,272 8 8	269,601 12 8	8d.
„ 30, 1905	345,226	12,271	2,780,729 6 7	6,939,738 6 0	250,680 7 6	8d.
„ 29, 1906	365,907	12,863	2,950,620 12 2	7,140,182 10 10	280,434 12 6	8d.
„ 28, 1907	381,271	13,486	3,059,245 2 9	7,603,460 7 0	289,197 16 10	8d.
„ 26, 1908	393,549	14,206	3,292,045 14 7	7,531,126 8 0	263,577 6 4	8d.
„ 25, 1909	400,618	15,159	3,346,773 0 9	7,457,136 3 9	271,926 18 6	8d.
„ 31, 1910	415,526	15,704	3,455,627 16 6	7,738,158 16 5	273,563 18 7	8d.
„ 30, 1911	431,045	16,076	3,838,046 0 2	7,851,079 10 0	308,890 10 10	8d.&1d.*
„ 28, 1912	439,969	16,634	4,038,913 12 9	8,391,258 5 2	301,154 1 6	8d.
„ 27, 1913	451,041	17,824	4,468,463 2 11	8,964,033 12 3	340,730 8 2	8d.
„ 26, 1914	461,645	18,699	4,954,915 9 4	9,425,383 17 2	393,115 16 6	8½d.
„ 25, 1915	482,673	22,726	5,298,920 3 7½	11,363,075 12 4	456,546 12 4½	9d.
„ 30, 1916	501,604	24,081	5,525,264 8 7½	14,499,037 2 3	501,531 13 10	8d.
„ 29, 1917	571,458	25,001	5,304,499 1 11	17,083,274 12 2	408,209 4 8½	5½d.
„ 28, 1918	597,883	25,791	5,773,569 8 2½	19,216,762 18 7	481,318 0 8½	5½d.
„ 27, 1919	649,995	26,946	6,806,534 0 10	24,773,381 7 10	494,097 4 6½	5d.
„ 25, 1920	702,355	29,391	7,165,486 9 0½	29,549,576 8 11	386,886 6 11½	3d.

* Special.

LANDMARKS IN S.C.W.S. HISTORY.

1868.
April 20. Rules registered.
Sept. 8. Business commenced.

1870.
Sept. —. Bonus instituted.

1872.
May —. Paisley Road Ground purchased.

1873.
Sept. —. Paisley Road; First Building opened.
Dec. —. Drapery Dept. started.

1877.
April —. Leith Branch started.

1878.
Feb. —. Kilmarnock Branch started.

1879.
May —. Leith Branch, Ground purchased.
Aug. —. Insurance Fund started.

1880.
May —. Clarence Street Ground (First purchase).
July —. Paisley Road Premises extended.

1881.
Jan. —. Shirt Factory started (First Productive Works).
May —. Kilmarnock, Ground purchased.
July —. Dundee Branch started.
Aug. —. Tailoring Factory started.

1882.
April —. Paisley Road, Gusset, Ground started.

1883.
June —. Wallace (St. James) Street, Ground purchased.

1884.
Nov. —. Cabinet Factory started.

1885.
Jan. —. Boot Factory started.
May —. Enniskillen Branch opened.
Aug. —. Building Dept. started.

1886.
Mar. —. Hosiery Factory started.
June —. Clarence Street Ground (Second purchase).
—. Leith Branch Ground purchas'd.
Nov. —. Advances to Societies by Bond (First Loan granted).

1887.
Mar. —. Shieldhall Site purchased.
July —. Shieldhall; First Sod cut.
Aug. —. Printing Dept. started.
Nov. —. Clarence Street Ground (Third purchase).

1889.
June 21-22. Coming-of-age Celebrations.

1890.
Jan. —. Brush Factory started.
June —. Preserve Works started.
Dec. —. Artisan Clothing Factory started

1891.
Jan. —. Mantle Factory started.
Mar. —. Crookston Street Ground (First purchase).
April —. Confectionery Works started.
June —. Tobacco Works started.
Oct. —. Crookston Street Ground (Second purchase).
Nov. —. Carbrook Mains Farm taken (First Lease).

1892.
Jan. —. Coffee Essence Works started.
—. Chemical Works started.
—. Engineering Dept. started.
—. Sausage Works started.
June —. Morrison Street Ground purchased.

1893.
Mar. —. Employees made eligible as Shareholders.
May —. Parkview (Adelphi St.) Ground purchased.
Aug. —. Tinware Dept. started.
—. Pickle Works started.

1894.
Aug. —. Chancelot Mills (opening ceremony).

1896.
April —. Ettrick Mills purchased.
June —. Waterproof Factory started.
Nov. —. Carbrook Mains Farm taken (New Lease).

1897.
Jan. —. New Buildings, Morrison Street, opened.
April —. Junction Mills purchased.
May —. Chambers Street Property purchased.
Oct. —. Soap Works, Grangemouth, commenced.
—. Aerated Water Factory (Glasgow) commenced.
—. Paterson and Dundas Streets, Ground purchased.

1898.
Feb. —. Chambers Street Warehouse opened.
May —. Aerated Water Factory, Leith, started.
July —. Enniskillen Creamery and Auxiliaries started.

1899.
Feb. —. Bladnoch Creamery started.
Oct. —. Aberdeen Fishcuring started.

1901.
May —. Carntyne Farm taken.
July —. Maxwelltown Place Site purchased.
Oct. —. Aerated Water Factory, Stirling, started.
Nov. —. Dress Shirt Factory, Leith, started.
Dec. —. Carbrook Mains Farm given up,
—. Legal Partnership with English Wholesale.

1903.
Nov. —. Regent Flour Mills purchased.

1904.
May —. Calderwood Estate purchased.
—. Park Street, K.P., Site purchased.
Sept. —. Chappellfield Laundry leased.

1905.
Sept. —. London Drapery Office opened.

1906.
May —. Aerated Water Factory, Dunfermline, started.
Aug. —. Winnipeg (Canada) Depôt started.

1907.
May —. Paterson-Morrison Streets, Sites purchased.
Nov. —. Clarence Street purchase of part Ground Annual.

1908.
——. Enniskillen Piggery Ground purchased.
—. Kirkcaldy Aerated Water Factory Ground feued.
May —. Carntyne Farm (Extension of Lease).
—. Paterson Street Factories extended.
—. Drapery Warehouse, Paterson Street, extended.
Aug. —. Paisley, Factory purchased for Laundry.
—. Canada, Wheat Elevators, erected.
—. Elgin Retail Branch opened.
—. Chambers Street, Minto House, purchased.

1909.
Jan. —. Potterhill Laundry, Paisley, started.
June —. Ryelands Milk Centre opened.
July —. Dundee Buildings, Seagate, opened.

1911.
Jan. —. Houston Street and Paisley Road Ground purchased.
Sept. 3. Morrison Street Building partly destroyed by fire.
—. Motor Engineering started.

1912.
Jan. —. Dress Shirt Factory removed to Paisley.
May —. Kilmarnock (additional) Property purchased.
Aug. —. Hosiery Factory (Leith) started.
Dec. —. Smith Street, K.P., Site purchased.

1913.
Jan. —. Paterson Street Site purchased.
Aug. —. Ayrshire Blanket Mills, Galston, purchased.
Oct. —. Joint Insurance Dept., with C.W.S. started.
Nov. —. Wallace Street Site purchased.

1914.
Feb. 14. Boot Factory partly destroyed by fire.
Mar. —. Shieldhall (additional) Ground purchased.
April —. West Barns Retail Branch opened.
May —. Buckie Retail Branch opened.
June —. St. James Street, K.P., Site purchased.
Nov. —. Morrison Street, Dundas Street, and Clarence Street, Site purchased.
Dec. —. Kilmarnock (additional) Ground purchased.

1915.
Feb. —. Bonus to Labour discontinued.
Mar. —. Aberfoyle Retail Branch open'd.
July —. Grain Dept., Aberdeen, opened.
—. Crichie Meal Mill, Fyvie, taken over.
Nov. —. Bath Street and Poplar Lane Property, Leith, purchased.

1916.
Mar. —. Peterhead Retail Branch opened.
May —. Shieldhall (additional) Ground purchased.
Dec. —. Wietzen Estate and Farm, Canada, purchased.

1917.
April —. Taybank Jute Works, Dundee, purchased.
Nov. —. Springside Estate, West Kilbride, purchased.

1918.
May —. Crookston Street Ground purchased.
—. Bladnoch (additional) Ground purchased.
July —. Girtrig Meal Mill, Drybridge, purchased.
Aug. —. Creameries, Wigtownshire and Ballymoney, (Ireland), purchased.
Sept. 8. Jubilee of S.C.W.S.
Nov. —. Scotland Street (No. 7) Ground purchased.
—. Creamery, Kirkmichael, Ayrshire, purchased.
—. Creamery, East Kilbride, purchased.

1919.
May —. Chapelheron and Drummaston Farms, Whithorn, purchased.
June —. Jubilee Celebrations.
Oct. —. Linen and Floorcloth Factories, Falkland, Fifeshire, purchased.

1920.
Feb. —. Paper Works, Rutherglen, purchased.
—. Employees' Welfare Scheme initiated.
Dec. —. Kirkmichael Creamery sold.

INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY OF CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

International Co-operative Alliance (established 1895): 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. General Secretary: H. J. May.

UNITED KINGDOM.

For a complete list of Co-operative bodies in the United Kingdom see pages 44 to 48.

AUSTRIA.

Verband deutsch-österreichischer Konsumvereine: Praterstrasse 8, Vienna (Union of German-Austrian Distributive Societies.) Established 1904.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft österreichischer Konsumvereine: Praterstrasse 8, Vienna (Austrian Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1905.

Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden Erwerbs- und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften: Lindengasse 5, Vienna. (The General Union is a composite organisation).

BELGIUM.

Fédération des Sociétés coopératives belges: 48, rue du Rupel, Brussels. Established 1901. (Co-operative Wholesale.)

Office coopératif belge 4-5 Place de la Justice, Brussels. (Co-operative Union.) Director: Victor Serwy.

BULGARIA.

Société Coopérative de Consommation, "Bratski Troud": Sofia. (Distributive Society.)

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Ustředni svaz československych družstev v Praze (Central Union of Czech-Slovak Co-operative Societies, Myslikova ul. 15, Prague). Established 1907.

Velkonákupni společnost konsumnich družstev v Praze (Co-operative Wholesale Society, Prague). Established 1909.

Verband deutscher Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften. Havlickovo nám 32, Prague. (Union of German Industrial Societies.)

DENMARK.

Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger: Njalsgade 15, Copenhagen. (The Danish Distributive Wholesale.) Established 1896.

Andelsudvalget: Christiansgade 24, Aarhus. (The All-Danish Central Co-operative Board.)

Jydsk Andels-Foderstofforetning: Aarhus. (Feeding Stuff Society.)

FINLAND.

Yleinen Osuuskauppojen Liitto, Helsingfors. (General Co-operative Union.)

Suomen Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunta r.l. (Co-operative Wholesale of the General Union): Helsingfors. Established 1904.

Kulutusosuuskuntien Keskusliitto: Djurgardsvägen 1, Helsingfors. Secretary: Wäinö Hüpli. (Central Union of Distributive Societies.) Established 1916.

Suomen Osuustukkukauppa: Broholmsgatan 8, Helsingfors. (Co-operative Wholesale of Central Union.) Established 1917.

Pellervo Society: Helsingfors. Secretary: Onni Karhunen. (Society for the Promotion and Propagation of Co-operation.) Established 1901.

FRANCE.

Fédération nationale des Cooperatives de Consommation : 13, Rue de l'Entrepôt, Paris. Secretaries : A. Daudé-Bancel and E. Poisson. National Federation of Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1912.

Magasin de Gros des Cooperatives de France : 29, Boulevard Bourdon, Paris. (The French Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1913.

Chambre Consultative des Associations ouvrières de Production : 44, Rue du Renard, Paris.

GERMANY.

Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine : Beim Strohhause 38, Hamburg. Secretary : Heinrich Kaufmann. (Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1903.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine : Besenbinderhof 52, Hamburg. (The Wholesale of the Central Union.) Established 1892.

Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden Erwerbs- und Wirtschafts-genossenschaften : Berlinerstrasse 102, Charlottenburg, Berlin. (The General or Composite Union, founded in 1864 by Schulze-Delitzsch).

Reichsverband der deutschen landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften : Bernburger-strasse 21, Berlin. (Imperial Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies.) Established 1883.

Generalverband ländlicher Genossenschaften für Deutschland : Dorotheenstrasse 11, Berlin. (The Raiffeisen Organisation.) Established 1877.

Hauptverband deutscher gewerblicher Genossenschaften : Berlin. (Head Union of German Operative Co-operative Societies.) Established 1901.

Deutsche Gartenstadt Gesellschaft : Schlachtensee, Berlin. (Garden City Society).

HOLLAND.

Centrale Bond van Nederlandsche Verbruiks-coöperaties. Gedempte Burgwal 35, The Hague. (Central Union of Dutch Distributive Societies.) Established 1889.

Coöperatieve Groothandelsvereeniging "De Handelskamer" : Ruigeplaatweg 29, Rotterdam. (The Co-operative Wholesale.) Established 1890.

Nederlandsche Coöperatieve Vrouwenbond. Secretary : Mej. Marg. Meyboom, Westerbro, Rijswijk (Z.H.) (Women's Co-operative Guild).

Vereeniging Eigenhulp : The Hague. ("Self Help" Distributive Society).

Bond van Coöperatieve Vereenigingen in Nederland, Hertogenbosch. (R.C. Co-operative Union.) Established 1902.

Allgemeene Nederlandsche Zuivelbond : Hugo de Grootstraat 13, The Hague. (Union of Dairy Societies.) Established 1900.

Coöperatieve Centrale Boerenleenbank, Eindhoven. (Farmers' Co-operative Credit Bank).

Coöperatieve Stoomzuivelfabriek : Alkmaryp.

Erste Nederlandsche Beetwortelzuikerfabriek : Sas van Gent.

HUNGARY.

Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztasi és Ertekesitö Svövetkezete : Köz-raktar-utca 34, Budapest. (The Hangya Co-operative Union and Wholesale.) Established 1898.

Magyarorszagi szövetkezetek szovetsege (General Co-operative Union) : Ullöi-üt 25, Budapest.

Landes Central Kreditgenossenschaft, Baross-utca 13-szam : Budapest. (National Central Credit Society.)

Verband Raiffeisenscher Genossenschaften, Siebenbürgen, Hermannstadt.

ITALY.

Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative : Via Pace, 10, Milan. (National League of Co-operative Societies.) Established 1886.

Consorzio Italiano delle Cooperative ed Enti di Consumo: Milan. (The Italian Wholesale.)
Federazione Italiana dei Consorzi Agrari: via Mazzini 4, Piacenza.

NORWAY.

Norges Kooperative Landsforening: 4, Kirkegatan, Christiania. (The Norwegian Co-operative Union and Wholesale.) Established 1906.

POLAND.

Związek polskich stowarzyszeń spożywców: Ul. Mickiewicza, Mokotów, Warsaw. (Union and Wholesale of Consumers' Societies.) Established 1911.

ROUMANIA.

Casa Centrale a Bancilor populare si coopertivelor Satesti: Bucharest. (Co-operative Credit Banking Central.) Established 1903.

RUSSIA.

Vserossiisky Tsentralny Soyuz Potrebitelnych Obshtshestv: Moscow. (All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies.) Established 1898. Official representative (under the new regime) in Great Britain: The All-Russian Co-operative Society Ltd. "Arcos," 68, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.
Komitet o selskych ssudosberegatelnych i promyshlennych tovarishtshestvach: Moscow. (Rural Savings and Industrial Associations Committee).
Soyuz Sibirskikh Maslodyelnykh Artelei: Kurgan, Siberia. (Union of Siberian Creamery Associations.) Established 1908. London Offices: 14, Austin Friars, E.C.
Central Association of Flax Growers, Bolshaia Lubianka 15, Moscow.
Council of the All-Russian Co-operative Congresses, Moscow.
Moscow Narodny Bank: Miasnitzkaia 15, Moscow. (People's Co-operative Bank.) London Offices: 40, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.
Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions, "Zakupsbyt," Novo-Nikolaievsk, Siberia. (London branch: Hazlitt House, 43, Southampton Buildings, High Holborn).
Union of Co-operative Tar-manufacturing Associations: Shenkursk. (Archangel Government.)
Northern Union of Co-operative Timber Associations: Archangel.

SERBIA.

General Federation of Co-operative Unions of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes: Rue Ressavska 15, Belgrade. Established 1895.

SPAIN.

Federación Regional de Cooperativas de Cataluña: Pasaje de San José, Letra D. Barcelona. (Catalonian Union.) Established 1900.
Union de Cooperativas del Norte de España Bilbao. (Co-operative Union of the North of Spain.)
Federación de las Cooperativas Integrales y Populares: Madrid.

SWEDEN.

Kooperativa Förbundet i Sverge: Stadsgården 12, Stockholm. (Co-operative Union and Wholesale of Sweden.) Established 1899.

SWITZERLAND.

Verband schweizerischer Konsumvereine: Thiersteinerallee 14, Basle. (Union and Wholesale of Swiss Distributive Co-operative Societies.) Established 1890.

Verband ostschweizerischer landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften: Winterthur. (Union of East Swiss Agricultural Co-operative Societies.) Established 1886.
Verband der Genossenschaften "Konkordia": Ausstellungstrasse 21, Zurich. (Union of Co-operative Societies, "Konkordia.")

UKRAINE.

Union Dniprovienne des Sociétés Coopératives de Consommation: Kiev. (Union of Distributive Societies.) (London Office: 82, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.)
Banque Populaire de l'Ukraine: Kiev. (People's Bank.)
Union Centrale ukrainienne des Coopératives agricoles: Kiev. (Central Union of Agricultural Societies.)

ARMENIA.

Union of Armenian Co-operative Societies: Erivan.

JAPAN.

Central Union of Distributive and other Co-operative Societies: Tokio. Established 1903.

INDIA.

Co-operative Union of India: Calcutta.
Dharma Samavaya Ltd.: Samavaya Mansions, Corporation Place, Calcutta. (Co-operative Wholesale.)

NEW ZEALAND.

The Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society of New Zealand Ltd., Wellington.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

"El Hogar Obrero" Cooperativa de Credito, Edificación y Consumo: Bolivar 1864 y Martin Garcia 465/73: Buenos Aires. (Distributive, Building, and Credit Society.)
Sociedad Cooperativa de Pan: Rosario de Santa Fé. (Baking Society.)

CANADA.

Co-operative Union of Canada: 215, Nelson Street, Brantford, Ontario.
Co-operative Association: 39, Quebec Street, Guelph.
British Canadian Co-operative Society: Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia.

UNITED STATES.

Co-operative League of America: 2, West 13th Street, New York.
Pacific Co-operative League, 236, Commercial Street, San Francisco.
National Co-operative Association, 342, River Street, Chicago. (Co-operative Wholesale Society.)

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE PRESS DIRECTORY.

AUSTRIA.

Der freie Genossenschafter: Vienna. Organ of the Union of German-Austrian Co-operative Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1903.
Die Genossenschaft: Vienna. Official organ of the General Union or Allgemeiner Verband. Established 1872.
Oesterreichische Landwirtschaftliche Genossenschaftspresse: Vienna. Organ of agricultural co-operation. Fortnightly. Established 1904.

BELGIUM.

La Coopération. Organ of the Belgian Federation of Co-operative Societies. Established 1902.

La Coopération Belge: 4–5, Place de la Justice, Brussels. Issued from the Office Cooperatif. Fortnightly. (Journal Populaire.) Established 1919.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Družstevnik (Co-operator): Myslikova ul. 15, Prague, Bohemia. Organ of the Union of Czech-Slovak Co-operative Societies. Monthly. Established 1909.

DENMARK.

Andelsbladet (Co-operative Journal): Christiansgade 24, Aarhus. The joint and general organ of co-operation in Denmark. Issued by the Joint Co-operative Board. Weekly. Editor: Anders Nielsen.

FINLAND.

Yhteishyvä (The Commonweal): Helsingfors. Official organ of the Finnish Co-operative Wholesale Society. Weekly. Established 1905.

Samarbete (Co-operation). Issued by the Finnish Wholesale for the benefit of the Swedish-speaking members of the movement.

Kuluttajain Lehti (Consumers' Newspaper): Helsingfors. Organ of the Central Union of Consumers' Societies.

Pellervo: Helsingfors. Propagandist organ issued by the Pellervo Society. Established 1900. Editor: Dr. Hannes Gebhard.

FRANCE.

L'Action Coopérative: 13, Rue de l'Entrepôt, Paris. Organ of the National Federation of French Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1912.

L'Emancipation: Nîmes. Journal of Political and Social Economy. Monthly. Established 1887.

Le Consommateur: Paris. Organ of the Consumers' League. Monthly. Established 1911.

Association Ouvrière: 44, rue du Renard, Paris. Official organ of productive co-operation. Issued three times per month. Established 1894.

GERMANY.

Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau (Co-operative Review): Beim Strohhause 38, Hamburg. Official organ of the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1904.

Konsumgenossenschaftliches Volksblatt (Co-operative People's Journal). The household propagandist periodical of the Central Union. Established 1904.

Blätter für Genossenschaftswesen (Journal of Co-operation): Berlin. Official organ of the Allgemeine Verband—the composite union originally instituted by Schulze-Delitzsch. Weekly. Established 1882.

Landwirtschaftliches Genossenschaftsblatt (Agricultural Co-operative Journal): Berlin. Official organ of the Raiffeisen Union of Agricultural Credit Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1888.

Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Genossenschaftspresse (German Agricultural Co-operative Press): Berlin. Organ of the Reichsverband or Imperial Union. Weekly. Established 1899.

Deutsches Genossenschaftsblatt: Berlin. Organ of the Hauptverband, or Head Union of Operative Societies.

Der Genossenschafter: Organ of the Union of Württemberg Distributive Societies, Königstrasse 33, Stuttgart.

HOLLAND.

Het Coöperatieve Nieuws: Gedempte Burgwal 35, The Hague. Official organ of the Central Union of Distributive Societies. Fortnightly. Established 1913, in continuance of the Co-operative Monthly, established 1904.

Mededeelingen (Communications): Jansveld 25, Utrecht. Issued by the R.C. Union of Co-operative Societies. Issued every two months. Established 1916.

Official Organ of the General Dairy Union of the Netherlands: Hugo de Grootstraat 13, The Hague. Weekly. Established 1906. Editor: The Secretary of the Union.

HUNGARY.

Szovetkezes: Budapest. Issued by the "Hangya" Wholesale Society. Bi-weekly.
Mezögazdak: Budapest. Organ of agricultural co-operation.

ICELAND.

Timarit islenskra samvinnufelage. Magazine of Icelandic co-operation. Reykjavik, Quarterly.

ITALY.

La Cooperazione Italiana: Via Pace, 10, Milan. Official organ of the National League of Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1886. Director: Antonio Vergnanini.

La Rivista della Cooperazione, via Palestro, N.14, Rome 30. Co-operative Review. Issued monthly. Directors: Antonio Vergnanini and Umberto Zanni.

Cooperazione Popolare: Organ of the Confederazione Cooperativa Italiana. Piazza di Spagna 9, Rome.

L'Idea Cooperativa: Via Meravigli 9, Milan. Official organ of the Unione Cooperativa (Distributive Society).

Bollettino delle Cooperative Operaie di Trieste: Organ of Workers' Co-op. Societies, Trieste.

NORWAY.

Kooperatören: Kirkegaten 4, Christiania. Organ of the Norwegian Wholesale Co-operative Society. Monthly. Established 1906.

POLAND.

Spolnota (issued weekly), **Spolem** (issued fortnightly), **Rzeczpospolita Spółdzielcza** (issued monthly). The organs of the Union of Polish Consumers' Societies. Ul. Mickiewicza, Mokotów, Warsaw.

RUSSIA.

Soyuz Potrebitelei (Union of Consumers): Moscow. Organ of the Central Union of Co-operative Societies. Weekly. Established 1903.

Obedinenie (Unification) and Obshtshe Dyelo (The Common Cause). Popular monthlies issued by the Central Union for the behoof of town co-operators and rural co-operators respectively.

Vyestnik Kooperatsii (Messenger of Co-operation): Petrograd. A monthly journal dealing with the theory and practice of co-operation, both in Russia and elsewhere. Established 1909.

Narodnaya Gazeta (People's Paper): Kurgan, Western Siberia. Weekly organ of the Siberian Union of Creamery Associations. Established 1906.

Artelnoe Dyelo: Petrograd. Monthly organ of the Society for the Promotion of Operative Associations. Established 1915.

Vyestnik Kustarnoy Promyshlennosti: Petrograd. Official organ of the Peasant Industries Organisation. Monthly. Established 1913.

N.B.—The above constituted a representative list of leading co-operative periodicals issued in normal times.

SPAIN.

Acción Cooperatista: Pasaje San José, Barcelona. Organ of the Regional Federation of Catalonian Co-operative Societies. Fortnightly.

Cooperatismo: Plaza del Mercado del Ensanche 3, Bilbao. Monthly organ of the Union of Co-operative Societies of the North of Spain.

SWEDEN.

Kooperatören: Stadsgården 12, Stockholm Sö. Official organ of the Co-operative Union. Monthly. Established 1914. Editor: Axel Gjöres.

Konsumentbladet (Consumers' Journal). Weekly periodical of the Co-operative Union. Established 1914. Editor: Axel Gjöres.

SWITZERLAND.

Schweiz. Konsum-Verein: Thiersteinerallee 14, Bâle. Official organ of the Swiss Co-operative Union. Weekly. Established 1901. Editor: Dr. Henry Faucherre.

Le Coopérateur Suisse: 62, Tellstrasse, Basle. Official organ of the Swiss Co-operative Union for French-speaking Switzerland. Weekly. Established 1919. Editor: C. Mutschler.

Genossenschaftliches Volksblatt, La Coopération, and **La Cooperazione:** Popular fortnightly periodicals issued by the Co-operative Union for the German-speaking, French-speaking, and Italian-speaking sections of the movement respectively.

Samenkörner (Grains of Corn): Popular monthly, also issued by the Swiss Co-operative Union.

Genossenschaftsblatt, "Konkordia": Zurich. Organ of the Konkordia Co-operative Union. Fortnightly.

Genossenschafter (Co-operator): Winterthur. The official organ of the Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies in East Switzerland.

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

La Cooperación Libre: Martin Garcia 465, Buenos Ayres. Monthly.

CANADA.

Canadian Co-operator: Brantford, Ontario. Issued under the auspices of the Co-operative Union of Canada. Monthly.

Le Bulletin des Agriculteurs: 63, Rue William, Montreal. Organ of the Agricultural Society of Cheesemakers in the province of Quebec. Monthly.

NEW ZEALAND.

The New Zealand Co-operator: Monthly. Published by Harold Woods Tidman (Standen st Karori) for the Co operative Union and Wholesale Society of New Zealand Ltd.

U.S.A.

Co-operation (formerly Co-operative Consumer): 2, West 13th Street, New York. Published by the Co-operative League of America.

National Co-operative News: 342, River Street, Chicago, Ill. Published weekly by the National Co-operative Association.

North-West Co-operative News: Seattle. Fortnightly.

Pacific Co-operator: Organ of the Pacific Co-operative League. San Francisco, California. Monthly.

Colony Co-operator: Published by the Llano Co-operative Colony, Leesville, Louisiana, U.S.A. Monthly.

National Equity News: Madison, Wisconsin. Weekly organ of the National Union of the Society of Equity. (Specialises in propaganda amongst farmers.)

CO-OPERATIVE PRESS DIRECTORY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Co-operative News: Long Millgate, Manchester. News organ for the British movement. Issued by the National Co-operative Publishing Society Limited. Weekly, 2d. Established 1871. Editor: W. M. Bamford.

Scottish Co-operator: 263, Wallace Street, Kingston, Glasgow. Issued by the National Co-operative Publishing Society Limited. Weekly, 1½d. Established 1900. Joint editors: W. Reid and R. Murray.

Irish Homestead: 34, Lower Abbey Street, Dublin. Official organ of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. Weekly, 12s. per annum (post free). Established 1895. Editor: G. W. Russell.

I.A.W.S. Bulletin: Issued by the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society Ltd., 151, Thomas Street, Dublin. Monthly, 1d.

Producer: 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Technical organ of the British movement. Issued by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. Monthly, 3d. Established 1916. Editor: James Haslam.

Wheatsheaf: 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Organ for household propaganda. Issued by the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. Monthly. Established 1897. Editor: Percy Redfern.

Millgate Monthly: Long Millgate, Manchester. A magazine of progress. Illustrated. Monthly, 6d. Editor: C. E. Tomlinson.

Woman's Outlook: Long Millgate, Manchester. Editor: Mrs. Bamford-Tomlinson. Monthly, 2d.

Our Circle: Long Millgate, Manchester. A magazine for young people. Monthly, 1d. Editor: Mrs. Bamford-Tomlinson.

Co-operative Educator: Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. Educational organ of the Co-operative Union Limited. Established December, 1916. Quarterly, 2d. Editor: F. Hall.

The New Dawn: Official organ of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. Monthly. Editor: L. Lumley.

Co-operative Official: Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. Official organ of the National Co-operative Managers' Association, The Co-operative Secretaries' Association, and the National Co-operative Officials. Monthly, 2d.

S.C.W.S. Magazine. Published by the Employees of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society. Monthly, price 2d. Established 1920.

International Co-operative Bulletin: 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Official organ of the International Co-operative Alliance. Monthly, 6s. per annum (post free). Established 1908. Editor: H. J. May.

Russian Co-operator: Published monthly at Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.4, in the interest of Russian co-operation. Price 6d. Established December, 1917.

Russian Information and Review: Published by the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation, Soviet House, 43, Moorgate Street, London, E.C.2. Bi-monthly, 6d. Established 1921.

The People's Year Book: 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Published by the C.W.S. and the S.C.W.S.

STATISTICS OF CO-OPERATIVE UNIONS.

The following Table affords a general view of the collective membership and trade of the Distributive Societies of the representative Co-operative Unions in 1920. Blanks indicate that definite figures are not at present available. The membership figures total up to nearly 24 millions. If the complete figures for the world could be given, the statistics would probably show a distributive co-operative membership of approximately 30 millions. The foreign amounts of sales have been converted into British equivalents on the basis of par (or nominal) values.

Country.	Union.	Number of Societies.	Total Membership.	Trade.	
					£
United Kingdom	Co-operative Union	1,379	4,504,852	....	254,158,144
Austria	German-Austrian Union ..	103	503,622	Kr. 1,822,130,224	75,922,093
Belgium	Federation of Co-op. Socs	....	....	....	....
Czecho-Slovakia ..	Central Union	510	532,809	Kr. 891,127,215	36,713,631
„ „ ..	German Economic Union	299	236,174	Kr. 331,405,465	13,808,561
Denmark	Co-operative Union	1,792	335,104	Kr. 149,294,000*	8,291,888
Finland	General Union	489	181,214	Fmks. 964,016,663	38,560,667
„	Central Union	105	144,157	Fmks. 525,743,844	21,029,754
France.....	National Federation	1,944	724,494	Frs. 443,820,200†	17,752,808
Germany.....	Central Union	1,291	2,714,109	Mks. 2,801,465,087	140,073,254
Georgia	Central Union	900	....	Rs. 302,616,254†	30,261,625
Holland	Central Union	150	161,286	Fl. 40,048,757	3,203,900
Hungary	"Hangya" Union	1,777	598,855	Kr. 391,182,418†	16,299,267
Italy	National League	3,986‡	....	....	....
Norway	Co-operative Union ...	401	88,346	Kr. 112,098,678	6,227,678
Poland	Union of Polish C.'s Socs.	1,058	347,450	Mks. 1,289,009,780	64,450,489
Russia	Central and other Unions	25,000	12,000,000†	....	....
Spain.....	Catalonian Federation ..	219	32,302	Pes. 19,278,586*	771,143
„	Union of North of Spain..	35	14,253	Pes. 16,042,266	641,691
Sweden	Co-operative Union	948	240,716	Kr. 216,118,000†	12,006,555
Switzerland	Union of Consumers' Socs.	493	362,284	Frs. 330,822,645	13,232,895
Canada	Co-operative Union	over 20	7,427	Ds. 2,465,253	513,594
United States....	Co-operative League	400	100,000	Ds. 24,000,000	5,000,000

* Figures for 1918. † Figures for 1919. ‡ Figure for May, 1921.

C.W.S Weavers and Clothiers.

(a) Looms at the Bradford Worsted Mill.

(b) Mending: Bradford Worsted Mill.

(c) Machine Room: Belmont (Birmingham) Blouse Factory.

Inset: A Belmont Cutter.

RUE ST. ROMAIN, ROUEN.

FROM AN ETCHING BY RUSSELL S. REEVE.

The picturesque qualities of the old street in the capital of Normandy are finely shown in this modern etching. Rouen is especially known to Co-operators through the C.W.S. Steamboat Service from Garston, while the artist is connected with the Co-operative Movement through the fact that his father is the well-known manager of the Norwich Co-operative Society.

Co-operative Movements Abroad.

AUSTRIA.

THE advance of co-operation in Austria in the post-war era is a notable feature. Operating within the limits of a minor and most necessitous State, the Union of German-Austrian Distributive Co-operative Societies (Verband deutschösterreichischer Konsumvereine) has achieved a success far transcending that attained by the organisation when, as the Central Union of Austrian Consumers' Societies, it functioned within the spacious area of the old Austrian empire and constituted an inter-racial organisation. In other words, intensive operations within a limited area and a practically homogeneous population have conduced to the welfare of the organisation, whose gain in compactness and strength is indicated by the fact that the hundred and odd affiliated societies of to-day have a much larger collective membership than had the 500 of yore. The rate of progress since the Union was re-organised may be seen from the figures of the last two years.

	Total number.	Number reporting.	Total membership.	Sales Turnover.	
				Kronen.	£
1919 ..	112 ..	103 ..	370,866 ..	572,771,278 ..	23,865,470*
1920 ..	103 ..	96 ..	503,622 ..	1,822,130,224 ..	75,922,093

The figures for 1920 denote a 36 per cent increase in membership and a 218 per cent increase in turnover. The increase in membership, of course, points to a corresponding increase in turnover, but to no more ; and so it may be estimated that considerably more than half of the increase of turnover for 1920 is the effect of soaring prices, due to the enhanced depreciation of the currency. In pre-war times 24 Austrian kronen were about equivalent to a £ sterling. At the beginning of 1920, 650 kronen were equivalent to £1, and on the 31st December, 1920, so far had the krone fallen in value that it took 2,350 kronen to exchange for a sovereign.

In 1920 the share capital of the societies amounted to 16,532,365 kronen (£688,848), the reserve funds to 16,417,871 kronen (£684,078), and the savings deposits to 55,075,750 kronen (£2,294,823). At the last Congress urgent recommendations were made concerning the increase of capital resources.

The Wholesale.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society (G. ö. C.) (which is now co-ordinated with the Union through the instrumentality of the one board which is elected for both organisations) has more than quadrupled its turnover (nominally speaking) during 1920.

	Kronen.	£
1919	486,442,347	20,268,431*
1920	2,028,650,817	84,527,118

* In this, as in all other cases, the figures have been calculated on the basis of par values.

The increase amounts to 1,542,208,470 kronen (£64,258,686), or 317 per cent. and, of course, points to the factor of soaring prices to an enormous extent.

THE BALTIC STATES.

The "Baltic States" is herein used as a convenient general term for the three newly-established republics of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, two of which (Esthonia and Latvia) comprise the area and populations of the three Baltic provinces (Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland) of pre-revolutionary Russia; while Lithuania (the third of the trio), which also comprises a cluster of pre-revolutionary provinces, completes the geographical group of contiguous states abutting on the Baltic Sea. The total population of the three states amounts to less than 8 millions, *i.e.*, Esthonia 1¾ million, Latvia 1½ million, and Lithuania 4½ million.

ESTHONIA.

Esthonia possesses about 150 co-operative societies (in round figures), with a collective membership of less than 20,000 and a total turnover exceeding 5 million roubles (£500,000). One of the largest societies was established in Reval in 1914. It has a membership of 4,000 and odd and a turnover of over 2 million roubles (£200,000).

A Co-operative Wholesale was established in 1919, and the first year's turnover figured at 2 million roubles.

LATVIA.

Latvia contains 484 distributive co-operative societies as compared with 151 before the war. Of these 484 societies 212 are affiliated to the Central Union "Konsums," which embraces societies of all kinds, and discharges the functions of a Wholesale Society, including industrial operations. The Central Union is a neutral Union and is conducted on Rochdale lines.

The proportions of the other branches of the Co-operative movement are indicated by the range of Central Unions, viz., the Central Union of Agricultural Societies with 26 agricultural societies, the Central Fishing Society with 93 societies, and the Central Society for Bee-culture with 18 societies; there is also a Society of Agriculturists comprising both societies and individual members.

The latest co-operative enterprise is the Popular Bank of Latvia, which was promoted by the Central Union "Konsums" and was established in 1920 with a capital of 5 million roubles. It comprises according to the latest date 474 organisations, including 257 co-operative societies (163 distributive, and 94 of various kinds) and 223 organisations composed of local administrations and educational and other associations.

It will thus be seen that Co-operation in Latvia is recovering rapidly from the devastation of war, which by the middle of 1919 had destroyed or reduced to inactivity about 95 per cent of the co-operative societies.

In conclusion, it may be stated that, according to the new law promulgated in 1919, co-operative societies must allocate at least 20 per cent of the " profits " to the reserve fund. And in accordance with the draft rules drawn up by the Central Union " Konsums," 95 per cent of the societies have also allocated 10 per cent to the fund for co-operative employees. The customary dividend is stated to range between 10 and 25 per cent, whilst between 5 and 35 per cent of the net profits is utilised for educational and benevolent objects.

LITHUANIA.

According to authoritative figures Lithuania contained before the war 200 consumers' societies, with a collective approximate turnover of 800,000 roubles, in addition to 112 credit co-operative societies and about 80 agricultural groups and societies. Since the advent of peace the co-operative movement has recovered from the state of arrested development due to the war and is now forging ahead, as is shown by the following record of progress :—

Societies.	No. of Socs. in December 1919.	No. of Socs. on January 1, 1921.	Increase.
Consumers' Societies	256	315	59
Producers' „	5	25	20
Credit „	11	76	65

This development has been facilitated by the legislative measures of January, 1919.

A further development has been the formation of the All-Lithuanian Union of Co-operative Societies, which commenced operations in September, 1920, and which at the beginning of January, 1921, embraced 198 affiliated societies (including two regional unions), had a Wholesale trading turnover of over 50 million auks*, and had also established five branch depôts and had started pig slaughteries and the production of preserved meats.

In addition to Wholesale trading the Union carries on the work of propaganda and education and publishes the official organ " Talka," which is issued three times per month.

* The "auk" is nominally equivalent in value to the German mark.

BELGIUM.

The co-operative movement in Belgium, represented by the Federation of Belgian Co-operative Societies (La Fédération des Sociétés Co-opératives belges) has made striking headway both in membership and concentration since the close of the war, but no precise and complete statistics of the societies as a whole can be given until the completion of the co-operative census by the Belgian Co-operative Office, whose transformation into an autonomous organisation (charged with the conduct of the non-commercial activities of the movement) was decreed by the Belgian Co-operative Congress in 1920 ; co-ordination between the Federation or trading organisation and the Office Co-opératif being secured by the nomination of seven Federation Board members to the Board of the Co-operative Office. Meantime, the " Forward " movement in Belgium is distinctly in evidence, as is indicated by the activities manifested since the close of the war.

Wholesale Operations.

The pre-war status of the Federation, together with the set-back sustained during the war period, and the post-war progress are clearly indicated by the following record of Wholesale trade :—

	Sales Turnover.	
Year.	Francs.	£
1913	11,550,931	462,037
1914	5,400,000	216,000
1915	2,000,000	80,000
1919	15,112,179	604,487
1920	51,748,297	2,069,932

For the first quarter of 1921 the sales amounted to 16,151,928 francs, and thus exceeded the total amount recorded for the year 1919. The joint co-operative and labour movement have their financial institution in the shape of the Belgian Labour Bank (Banque Belge du Travail) at Ghent. The capital at the end of 1920 stood at a million francs, and the reserve funds at 165,970 francs, or 1,165,970 francs (£46,639) altogether.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Co-operation in Czecho-Slovakia is progressing apace despite the fact that it comprises not one but several movements, separated either by racial or political cleavages, as typified by the following organisations:—

(1) The Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies, established under Social-Democratic auspices, and now comprising 1,102 societies, with 574,000 members.

(2) The Stores movement recently founded under National Socialist auspices, which in 1919 comprised 250 societies, with a membership of 200,000.

(3) The Stores movement founded under the auspices of the Catholic Party.

(4) The Union of German Economic Societies, comprising 299 societies, with a total membership of 236,000—a Union which, of course, represents the co-operative interests of the German section of citizens in the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Further particulars of the two principal organisations are given herewith.

The Central Union.

The Central Union of Czecho-Slovak Co-operative Societies in Prague (Ustředni Svaz. ceškoslovenskych druzstev v Praze) is a union of different types of societies, with consumers' societies predominating. Thus in 1920, the Union comprised 510 consumers' societies (with 532,809 members), 172 productive and labour societies, 184 agricultural societies and societies for the renting of land, 180 building and housing societies, 61 workmen's housing societies, and 10 credit and savings societies, or 1,117 societies altogether. As is shown by the following record, the Union has advanced by leaps and bounds since 1918 :—

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Membership.	Sales turnover of Societies.	
			Kronen.	£
1914	285	71,405	26,664,770	1,111,032
1915	285	72,144	26,207,699	1,091,987
1916	286	72,353	27,826,551	1,159,440
1917	304	83,028	34,568,174	1,440,341
1918	384	139,227	94,305,597	3,929,400
1919	703	300,000	330,000,000	13,750,000
1920	1117*	574,020†	984,570,005†	41,023,750

* The consumers' societies in 1920 numbered 510, of which 399 furnishing returns had a collective membership of 532,809 and a trade of 881,127,215 kr. (nominally £36,713,634).
† Membership and Sales of 708 societies sending in returns.

In 1920 the collective share capital of the affiliated societies amounted to 35,216,228 kronen (£1,467,343), the reserve funds to 9,710,923 kronen (£404,622), and the net surplus to 13,510,581 kronen (£562,941), as compared with 3,946,419 kronen (£164,434), 2,035,738 kronen (£84,822), and 1,204,100 kronen (£50,171) respectively in 1918.

The establishment of the General Co-operative Bank, of the People's Insurance Society "Czecho-Slavia," and of a Benefit Fund for co-operative employees are among the latest developments.

The Co-operative Wholesale.

The statistics of the Co-operative Wholesale (Velkonákupni spolecnosti konsumnich druzstev v Praze) serve to show the upswing which has taken place since the close of the war and the establishment of the republic.

	Sales Turnover.	
	Kronen.	£
1914	3,238,427	134,934
1915	4,205,671	175,236
1916	5,327,392	221,975
1917	9,553,729	398,072
1918	37,206,326	1,550,264
1919	290,234,454	12,093,102
1920	875,186,632	36,466,109

That this huge increase in turnover cannot be altogether attributable to the advance in prices is shown by the Wholesale's 722 affiliated societies, with a collective membership of 585,131, and also the increase in the staff of employees from 208 in 1919 to 492 in 1920. The share capital in 1919 amounted to 816,332 kronen, and in 1920 to 3,698,357 kronen, and it has been decided to raise the amount to 15 million kronen. And to cope with the increased trade extensions have been made and others are projected.

Production.—The output of the Wholesale's productions in 1920 amounted to 12,244,000 kronen, or £510,166. The Wholesale operates a brush works, a clothing manufactory, and a spice mill, and also produces coffee substitutes.

The Union of German Economic Societies.

Turning next to the Union of German Economic Societies (Verband deutscher Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften) we find the following token of progress :—

Year.	Total Societies.	Societies reporting.	Membership.	Sales Turnover of societies.	
				Kronen.	£.
1919	285	194	182,236	166,341,829	6,930,909
1920	299	219	236,174	331,405,465	13,808,561

The affiliated societies are nearly all consumers' societies and the total membership of the whole 299 is estimated at 260,000.

In 1919 the turnover of the Union's Wholesale amounted to 136 million kronen (£5,666,000). In 1920 the turnover amounted to 403,453,635 kronen (£16,810,568).

DENMARK.

According to the last official census the distributive co-operative movement in Denmark comprised, in 1918, 1,690 societies, with a collective membership of 317,000 and a total sales turnover of 150 million kroner, or £8,333,333—figures signifying an increase of 220 societies, an increase of 73,000 in membership and an increase of 47 million kroner (£2,611,111) in sales turnover since the year 1914.

The Danish Wholesale.

The Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society (Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger), which at the close of 1920 completed the first 25 years of its career, embraces (through its affiliated societies) practically three-fourths of the consumers' co-operative membership in the country. During the post-war period this membership has increased by close on 34 per cent. The following statistical record

shows the growth of the membership and sales since 1914. The record increase of 70 million kroner in sales in 1920 is, of course, attributable to high prices to a certain degree.

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Membership.	Total Sales of Wholesale.	
			Kroner.	£
1914	1,407	219,492	69,588,824	3,866,046
1915	1,488	232,128	71,458,307	3,969,906
1916	1,537	239,772	84,510,390	4,695,022
1917	1,574	245,544	81,581,786	4,532,321
1918	1,604	250,224	74,043,050	4,113,533
1919	1,729	323,323	131,126,885	7,284,827
1920	1,792	335,104	203,355,621	11,297,534

In 1915 the dividend rose to 7 per cent; in 1918 it was reduced to 5 per cent, and in 1920 to 3 per cent.

In 1920 the share capital amounted to 1,384,600 kroner (£76,922), the reserve fund to 8,242,122 kroner (£457,895), while the property figured at 8,781,880 kroner (£487,882). The Wholesale employs a staff of 1,953 persons.

Production.—The following are the figures of the societies' own productions during the last five years :—

Year.		Kroner.		£
1916	....	17,668,395	....	981,189
1917	....	16,377,979	....	909,888
1918	....	9,595,531	....	533,085
1919	....	27,619,451	....	1,534,414
1920	....	41,882,214	....	2,326,790

The productive enterprises of the Wholesale comprise hosiery, ready-made clothing, cycles, soap, rope and twine, margarine, mustard, chocolate and sweetmeat manufactures, and the Society also possesses seed and seed-testing grounds. During 1920 a considerable sum was expended in making extensions for the facilitation of progress.

The Danish Co-operative Bank.

The statistics of the Danish Co-operative Bank are also worthy of note, in view of the importance of the institution which operates as the central financial organisation for the co-operative movement in Denmark as a whole. Starting with a share capital of 650,000 kroner, the Bank in 1919 had increased its capital to 11,003,800 kroner (£611,322), and in 1920 to 13,624,300 kroner (£756,905). In 1920 also the reserve fund figured at 2 million kroner, and from 1919 to 1920 the amount of turnover increased from 8 milliards to 10½ milliards of kroner, *i.e.*, from over £444,000,000 to over £583,000,000. The Bank employs a staff of 470 employees.

FINLAND.

The distributive co-operative movement in Finland comprises two Unions with their respective Wholesale Societies—that is, a neutral union and a socialist union, the latter having been established by a group of societies which seceded from the neutral union (the General Co-operative Union) towards the close of 1916.

The General Co-operative Union.

Despite the vicissitudes arising from civil war without and secession within, the General Co-operative Union (Yleinen Osuuskauppojen Liitto) has made notable progress, as is shown by the statistical record for the last six years :—

Years.	Societies.	Membership.	Total sales of Societies.	
			Finnish Marks.	£
1914	415	97,000	71,000,000	2,840,000
1918	524	173,564	368,000,000	14,720,000
1919	567	201,307	615,740,736	24,630,000
1920	489	181,214	964,016,663	38,560,667

During the same period the General Union's Trading organisation, the Finnish Wholesale Society (Osuuskauppojen Keskusosuuskunta, designated by the abbreviation S.O.K.) has advanced as follows :—

Years.	Number of Societies.	Sales Turnover.	
		Finnish Marks.	£
1914	244	24,285,756	971,440
1915	341	35,098,522	1,430,940
1916	432	72,160,139	2,886,406
1917	442	91,121,357	3,644,854
1918	494	107,715,834	4,308,633
1919	503	204,985,896	8,199,436
1920	500	323,699,443	12,947,978

Production.—The productive operations of the S.O.K. embrace coffee-roasting, fruit-packing, biscuit-making, match-making, brick-making, brush-making, and the making of underclothing and overalls. The S.O.K. has also a sawmill and a cooperage and a farming estate.

The Central Union.

The Central Union of Finnish distributive Co-operative Societies (Kulutusosuuskuntien Keskusliitto, or K.K.), in which urban societies are a conspicuous feature (and amongst them the largest society in Finland), has made conspicuous progress during its four years' existence, as may be seen from the figures for the most recent years :—

Years.	Societies.	Membership.	Total sales of Societies.	
			Finnish Marks.	£
1919	99	123,817	275,140,301	10,922,612
1920	105	144,157	525,743,844	21,029,754
Increase 1920	6	20,340	250,603,543	10,107,142

Turning next to the Central Union's Wholesale trading organisation, or Suomen Osuustukkukauppa, briefly designated O.T.K., we find that sales in 1920 amounted to 98,837,754 Finnish marks (£3,953,510), as compared with 56,265,644 Finnish marks (£2,250,626) in 1919, an increase of 42,572,109 Finnish marks, or 75·7 per cent.

FRANCE.

According to an approximate computation, the number of distributive co-operative societies in France in 1920 amounted to about 4,000, with a collective membership of 1,300,000 and a total turnover of 1,250,000,000 francs (£50,000,000), as compared with 3,261 societies in 1914 with a collective membership of 880,000 and a total turnover of 321,800,000 francs (£12,840,000). Of the contemporary societies about one-half belong to the National Federation of Consumers' Societies (Fédération Nationale des Coopératives de Consommation), which in 1919 embraced 1,944 affiliated societies, with a membership (for 1,196 societies reporting) of 724,494, and a sales turnover (for 1,080) amounting to 443,820,200 francs, or £17,752,808. The progress of the Federation is shown by the record of 2,163 affiliated societies in June, 1920, as against 1,869 societies at the end of July, 1919; whilst intensive growth is indicated by the figures of 44 societies which, between 1919 and 1920, increased their collective total of shops from 1,237 to 1,754, their collective membership from 266,420 to 381,794, and their collective turnover from 228,340,008 francs (£9,133,600) to 388,368,245 francs (£15,534,730), signifying an increase of 517 stores, an increase of 115,574 members, and an increase of 160,028,237 francs (£6,201,129) in the course of twelve months.

In addition to the acquisition of government credits for co-operative societies (due to the services rendered by the movement during the war), the Federation has secured other legislative benefits, such as a law authorising the augmentation of the capital of societies possessing shares of 100 francs and enabling a consumer to become a co-operative member as soon as he has paid 25 francs towards a 100 francs share. The co-operative group in Parliament (now comprising about 120 deputies) has also put up a stiff fight against the taxation of the distributable surplus of co-operative societies.

The National Federation is represented on the statistical committee of the Ministry of Labour, on the National Corn Committee, and on the Consumers' Council.

The National Federation, with a view to joint action, has entered into relations with the National Federation of Mutuality, and has also entered into relation with agricultural co-operation to bring about direct purchases between the federated agriculturists and the Co-operative Wholesale.

With the Confédération générale du Travail, the National Co-operative Federation has also entered into an agreement for the regulation of relations and settlement of labour disputes in the co-operative movement.

The National Federation has also obtained representation on the Economic Council of Labour and the establishment by the government of a Chair of Co-operation at the Collège de France may be attributed to the efforts of the Federation. The cost of the chair will be supported by the subscriptions of distributive co-operative societies. Professor Charles Gide has been appointed to the chair.

It may be noted that the Strassburg Congress (1920) decided on the modification of the statutes of the Federation, and also authorised an intensive co-operative propaganda in rural districts and also recommended the establishment of auditing Unions for the co-operative societies.

It may be noted that the National Federation and the Co-operative Wholesale are linked together by both having the same administrative council.

The Co-operative Wholesale.

The Co-operative Wholesale (Magasin de Gros des Coopératives de France) is making rapid progress, as shown by the figures which place those of pre-war days in the shade of eclipse. In 1913 the sales turnover figured at 12 million francs (£480,000), but in the early years of the war this amount was reduced by over a couple of million francs. But in 1916 came the return of the tide and the later figures show that the Wholesale has entered on a new era. As compared with 1919, the figures for 1921 record an increase of 46 per cent in the number of affiliated societies, and an increase of 279 per cent as compared with 1916. Herewith is the official record in which the figures are given for each entire year (*i.e.* from the 1st of January to the 31st of December), and this affords better means of comparison than those formerly given :—

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Sales Turnover.	
		Francs.	£
1916.....	428	19,906,028	796,241
1917.....	670	31,467,607	1,258,704
1918.....	1088	59,510,504	2,308,420
1919.....	1435	121,406,362	4,856,254
1920.....	1591	165,930,376	6,637,215

On the 1st January, 1921, the subscribed capital amounted to 3,889,825 francs, the guarantee fund to 207,979 francs, the reserve fund (according to legal prescription) to 223,336 francs, the development fund to 889,708 francs, various reserves to 861,808 francs, and the depreciation fund to 3,921,056 francs; the value of fixtures and land amounted to 2,480,958 francs, and that of stock to 8,056,423 francs.

Depôts.—The Wholesale now possesses 18 depôts, viz., 13 grocery depôts and five for the sale of wines and spirits. There are also three commercial agencies, situated respectively at Beziers, Marseilles, and Algiers.

Production.—In the productive domain the Wholesale possesses three boot and shoe manufactories, three canned food manufactories, a chocolate manufactory, an underclothing manufactory, a coffee roastery, and a sawmill. The value of the output of the productive establishments amounts to 20,000,000 francs (£800,000). The Wholesale employs about 1,500 persons, half of whom are engaged in the productive departments.

Banking Department.—The advance made by the banking department is shown by the following figures: Between the 31st May and 31st December, 1920, the number of depositors at sight increased from 2,592 to 6,215; while the amount of deposits of individuals, of groupings, and of societies combined increased from 3,518,894 francs to 10,613,954 francs. The deposits for a term have also increased in considerable measure—that is from 6,780,888 francs to 9,804,133 francs during the 31st May and 31st December. With the addition of current account deposits the total deposits increased from 13½ million francs (£540,000) to 26 million francs (£1,040,000) in the course of seven months.

ALGERIA, TUNISIA, AND MOROCCO.

In the French possessions in North Africa there is now a young and growing co-operative movement as may be seen from the particulars recorded by M. Daudé-Bancel, and derived from his tour of co-operative propaganda in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. "The majority of the distributive societies in Algeria and Tunis are, apart from a few exceptions, of recent date, having been established during the last two or three years."

In Algeria there are 59 societies altogether, of which 39 reporting possess a membership of 44,142, and have a sales turnover of 22,161,000 francs.

In Tunis there are 9 societies with a collective membership of 4,541, and a sales turnover of 3,619,000 francs. It may be noted that there is a movement afoot for the promotion of developments and consolidation.

In Morocco also a number of societies have been founded since 1916, and a conference of Moroccan societies held in May, 1920, indicates the trend towards development.

GEORGIA.

Of the three Transcaucasian States which have been established since the downfall of the Tsardom, the socialist Republic of Georgia is the chief, and likewise the principal stronghold of co-operation, whose advance in status is proclaimed by the recent co-ordination of all branches of the movement—consumers' societies, productive societies, housing societies, loan and savings societies, and agricultural credit associations—into one general organisation—the Central Co-operative Union, embracing 18 regional unions comprising about 900 co-operative societies with a collective turnover of 302,616,254 roubles (£30,261,625 nominal) in 1919, as compared with 156,267,311 roubles in 1918, and 58,375,603 roubles in 1917. Greatly to the credit of the movement development takes precedence of dividend, which is made to serve the laudable purpose of fortifying the movement and promoting its progress.

The Central Co-operative Union is organised on the centralised plan, and combines the functions of a wholesale society with those of organisation, supervision, and propaganda. It has also launched into productive enterprise, and operates a sausage manufactory, a preserve manufactory, and a manufactory of dried fruits, as well as a mechanics' workshop, a soapworks, and a printing establishment with an output of propaganda and educational literature (in addition to that of co-operative commercial printing).

The Union also publishes the official organs of the movement, comprising a weekly and a monthly periodical. It has also established co-operative classes in most of the towns; besides organising (in conjunction with the Union of Georgian towns) a popular circulating university, by means of which over 1,300 lectures are annually delivered. For the special behoof of delegates from co-operative societies a Faculty of Co-operation has also been established at the People's University at Tiflis, the capital.

And last, but not least, the initiative of the Union is seen in the recent establishment of the Georgian Co-operative Bank with an initial capital of 20 million roubles (nominally £2,000,000).

The Georgian co-operative movement is predominantly socialist in composition, and its organisation is characterised by a strict adherence to the methods and principles of the Rochdale Pioneers.

GERMANY.

Despite the abnormal difficulties encountered both in war time and peace the Central Union of German Consumers' Societies (Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine) has maintained its position as the leading distributive co-operative organisation on the European continent outside Russia, as shown by the record figures for 1920, indicating a 17·6 per cent increase of membership for the year, a 21·6 per cent increase since the close of the war, and 58·1 per cent

increase since the year 1914. The increase in turnover amount is revealed by the abnormal percentages, viz.: 160·4 per cent increase for 1920; 317·6 per cent for the two years succeeding the war, and 468·2 per cent since the year 1914.

Year.	Number of Distributive Societies.	Number Reporting.	Total Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
				Marks.	£
1914	1,109	1,094	1,717,519	492,980,519	24,649,026
1915	1,079	1,073	1,849,434	493,569,933	24,678,496
1916	1,077	1,068	2,052,139	577,335,808	28,866,790
1917	1,079	1,072	2,189,630	590,955,454	29,547,772
1918	1,090	1,078	2,231,917	670,753,153	33,537,657
1919	1,132	1,088	2,308,407	1,075,581,269	53,779,063
1920	1,291	1,199	2,714,109	2,801,465,087	140,073,254

In 1920 the collective output of productions of societies belonging to the Union amounted in value to 341,432,704 marks, or £17,071,635; the business assets of members increased from 55,100,000 marks to 80,600,000 marks, the reserves and special reserves increased from 27,300,000 marks to 32,300,000, and the savings increased from 271 million marks to 399 millions. With a view to increasing capital resources a number of societies have raised the amount of members' shares to 200 and up to 300 marks.

In addition to the distributive societies there are 27 productive and miscellaneous societies, of which 24 reporting had a membership of 9,071 and a turnover of 23,533,984 marks (£1,176,699).

The Co-operative Wholesale.

As the figures for the war period show the set-back sustained by the Wholesale, so the record figures for the first two post-war years bear witness to the speed of recovery. For 1920 the turnover, amounting to 1,351,224,382 marks (£67,561,219), exceeds that of 1919 by 283 per cent and was more than eight times as large as the turnover of 1914. The increase is partly attributable to the fact that the Wholesale was enabled to resume its activity as the central purchasing institution of the distributive societies after the abolition (in great measure) of government control. The striking increase in turnover is also partly a result of the currency depreciation.

Year.	Wholesale's Turnover.		Wholesale's Production.	
	Marks.	£	Marks.	£
1914	157,524,040	7,876,202	10,475,273	523,763
1915	152,858,636	7,642,931	19,026,692	951,334
1916	133,896,014	6,694,800	28,312,907	1,415,645
1917	107,737,281	5,386,864	23,095,427	1,154,721
1918	104,500,972	5,225,048	18,365,741	918,287
1919	352,698,074	17,634,903	26,064,602	1,303,230
1920	1,351,224,382	67,561,219	156,429,449	7,821,472

In 1920 the net surplus amounted to 4,436,000 marks, as compared with 2,076,000 marks in the previous year.

In 1920 the share capital was increased from 1,500,000 marks to 2 millions, and the total reserve funds from 18,700,000 marks to 21 millions.

In 1919 the number of employees was 2,041, and in 1920, 2,427. The total of wages and salaries amounted to 21,779.397 marks in 1920, as compared with 7,037,377 marks for the previous year.

The Wholesale has warehouses in Hamburg, Berlin, Breslau, Gröba, Erfurt, Nürnberg, Mannheim, and Düsseldorf, and warehouses are also to be established in Minden and Stuttgart, with another at Chemnitz, in lieu of the Gröba warehouse, which it is intended to utilise for productive extensions. In Hamburg premises have been secured for the sale of cured and canned fish, and in Geestemunde offices have been recently established for the despatch of fresh sea fish.

Production.—The Wholesale now possesses the following productive establishments, viz., three cigar manufactories, a tobacco manufactory, a match works, two soap manufactories, a manufactory of edible paste commodities, a mustard manufactory, a spice manufactory, a manufactory for sweets and chocolates, a box manufactory, a cabinet works, and a brush works, besides a textile and ready-made clothing manufactory. The total turnover of the productive works amounted in 1920 to 156,429,449 marks (£7,821,472), as compared with 28,681,534 (£1,434,076) in 1919.

At the beginning of 1921 the Wholesale acquired a cigarette works at Stuttgart. The Wholesale has also purchased the Hotel Kaiserhof at Hamburg.

Bank Department.—In 1920 the number of current accounts increased from 849 to 962 and the turnover from 1,173,600,000 marks (£58,680,000) to 3,491,600,000 marks or £174.580,000. The deposits amounted to 117,300,000 marks as against 134,800,000 marks in 1919, and the deposits, loan funds, credits, and undrawn dividends collectively amounted to 181,600,000 marks (£9.050,000) as compared with 170,000,000 marks (£8,500,000) in the previous year.

Printing and Publishing.—During the course of 1920 the printing and publishing institution of the Central Union (Verlagsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine) nearly quadrupled its turnover, as shown by the figure 39,185,154 marks (£1,959,257) as compared with 10,599,170 marks (£529,958) for 1919.

The Labour Question.—The agreement regarding standard wages and conditions made by the Central Union and the Bakers' and Transport Workers' Trade Unions was shattered some time ago owing to strikes and wage demands ; but it would appear that there is a possibility of a return to the policy of joint agreements which prevailed

in the pre-revolutionary period. "Whilst at the Co-operative Congress, held at Bad Harzburg in 1920, there was no inclination to renew the agreements, yet in the meantime regional agreements have been made by all the sectional Federations, and there is now a prevalent desire to return to the old established relations by way of a national agreement and the resumption by the Tarifamt (or Joint Wages Board) of its former functions."

HOLLAND.

The progress of the co-operative movement in Holland is indicated by the figures of the Dutch Co-operative Union (Nederlandsche Coöperative Bond) which in 1914 embraced 162 societies with a collective membership of 99,234, and in the early part of 1920, 139 societies with a total membership of 147,646, including 32 societies other than distributive, with 5,188 members. In April, 1920, the Union was joined by the Union of Dutch Workers' Co-operative Distributive Societies, and the amalgamated organisation took the name of the Central Union of Dutch Distributive Co-operative Societies (Centrale Bond van Nederlandsche Verbruikscoöperaties). The new organisation began its career with a distributive co-operative membership comprising 155 societies with a total of 191,573 members, but closed the year with 150 societies comprising 161,286 members, the reduction in collective membership being mainly due to the defection of the "Vooruitgang" society in Rotterdam, with its 35,000 members —a defection which perchance may yet be retrieved.

The Wholesale.

The status of the Co-operative Wholesale Society (Coöperatieve Groothandelsvereeniging "De Handelskamer") is indicated by the fact that at the close of 1920 it embraced 385 societies with a membership of 192,401, or 235 societies with 30,000 members more than the Central Union. The trading turnover of the society since 1914 is shown in the following table :—

Year.	Trading Turnover.	
	Gulden.	£
1913–14	4,561,444	364,915
1915	6,236,095	498,888
1916	8,977,305	718,184
1917	10,000,298	800,024
1918	7,775,336	662,027
1919	11,126,477	802,118
1920	14,612,665	1,169,012

Production.—The productive establishments comprise a coffee roastery, a butcher's meat establishment, and a soap manufactory, which, however, has been working at a loss.

HUNGARY.

Despite the loss of a considerable number of societies owing to the shrinkage of Hungarian territory since the war, yet by virtue of abnormal effort and fusion the membership of the "Hangya" (Ant) Co-operative Wholesale Society of the Federation of Hungarian Farmers, has become larger than ever before. How the membership and turnover of the affiliated societies have increased may be seen from the official record :—

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kronen.	£
1914	1,276	190,555	—	—
1915	1,307	228,403	77,069,069	3,082,762
1916	1,386	292,062	107,278,794	4,465,783
1917	1,707	467,077	172,661,259	7,194.219
1918	2,140	658,267	247,700,037	10,320,835
1919	2,334	800,351	483,947,988	20,164,499

In the period 1914-1919 also the gross profits increased from 6,475,911 kronen to 27,599,212, and the net profits from 325,220 kronen to 5,192,733. Meanwhile the share capital has increased from 5,184,614 kronen to 42,589,591, and the reserve fund from 6,091,399 kronen to 22,081,201.

Wholesale Operations.

As will be seen from the official statistics the "Hangya" Wholesale's trading figures have undergone an enormous enlargement in the era of peace—an enlargement out of all comparison with that which occurred during the war. Needless to say the abnormal rise of prices constitutes the major factor, and the increase of membership the minor factor, in this huge enlargement of figures, as recorded herewith :—

Year.	Total Wholesale Turnover.	
	Kronen.	£
1914	30,218,913	1,259,121
1915	46,064,331	1,919.347
1916	57,573,133	2,398,880
1917	87,856,900	3,660,704
1918	126,775,127	5,282,297
1919	209,807,104	8,741,963
1920	1,380,000,000	57,500,000

The share capital in 1920 amounted to 100 million kronen (£4,166,666) as compared with 18 million kronen (£750,000) in 1919 ; the depreciation of the currency having necessitated the increase of capital.

The fact that 827 new "Hangya" societies were established between the 1st of August, 1919, and 31st December, 1920, is a plain indication of the "Hangya's" propagandist and organising activities.

Production.—The "Hangya" Wholesale Society carries on industrial undertakings through the medium of a separate and subsidiary concern, "The 'Hangya' Industry Co. Ltd." The undertakings

comprise two flour mills, a soap manufactory, a sweetmeats manufactory, a chemical manufactory, a brush works, a rope walk, a match works, a cutlery manufactory, and a distillery. The "Hangya" is also a participator in sundry other undertakings.

In conclusion it may be stated that though the "Hangya" is a member of the International Co-operative Alliance, yet its organisation reveals one or two points not usually included in the Rochdale plan. Thus, according to the statutes, the society comprises foundation as well as ordinary members, the former with shares of 1,000 kronen, and the latter with shares of 100 kronen; and though no discrimination is made as regards voting power, yet the holders of 1,000 kronen shares rank as preference shareholders, inasmuch as they have the first claim on the net surplus for the 5 per cent dividend. The directors, moreover, are entitled to receive 10 per cent of the net surplus as their emolument. The organisation both in war days and pre-war days was also a supporter of protective tariffs in the interest of the Hungarian farmers.

ICELAND.

That co-operation has taken root in Iceland is indicated by the total of societies (40 or more) with a membership ranging from two to three thousand each. And as the societies are organised in a centralised union combining the functions of propaganda and wholesale trading, it will be seen that the movement in Iceland has marched with the times.

ITALY.

The present status of co-operation in Italy is indicated by the total of 15,000 societies* of all kinds, as compared with half that number in pre-war days, when co-operation embraced 2,400 distributive societies, 3,100 productive and labour societies, 1,100 agricultural societies, and 900 miscellaneous societies, or 7,500 altogether. With the doubling of the number of societies new federations have come into existence, such as the Union of Combattants and the neutralist union, as well as the Italian Co-operative Confederation (Confederazione Co-operative Italiana (with head-quarters in Genoa), which is organised in the Catholic interest and officially embraces 3,400 consumers' societies organised in 68 provincial federations. Apart from these, however, stands the National League of Co-operative Societies (Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative), which is the largest

* The exact number of societies cannot be given, but 15,000 may be taken as a safe approximate estimate. The Government figures for the 31st March, 1921, record 19,510 societies of all kinds, but in the absence of any definite statistics of the number of defunct societies between July, 1920, and April, 1921, the Government figures cannot be accepted as final. A strict investigation might possibly necessitate their reduction by 10 to 20 per cent.

and most distinctively co-operative organisation in Italy, which embraces the largest and most important societies, which is organised in accordance with Rochdale principles, and which has a record dating back for thirty-five years.

In May, 1921, the League embraced 3,986 distributive societies, 2,420 productive and labour societies, 527 agricultural societies, and 497 miscellaneous, or a total of 7,430 ; or half the entire number of co-operative societies in Italy. In other respects precise figures are not available, but it is estimated that the total membership of the 7,430 societies amounts to 1,857,500, or close on two millions, and that the collective share capital of the societies exceeds 250 million lire, or £10,000,000.

As shown by its constituent societies, the National League of Co-operative Societies represents the triple alliance of co-operative consumers, co-operative Labour guilds, and co-operative agriculturists, with the distributive co-operative societies in the first line, amongst which are the leading societies in the kingdom with the Unione Cooperativa in Milan at the head—a society whose turnover in 1920 amounted to 110 million lire (£4,400,000). As it is computed that the co-operative trade in Milan amounts to about 200 million lire (or £8,000,000) the benefits which would accrue from the enlargement of the Unione Cooperativa by the fusion of all the other societies can easily be realised.

As regards the industrial labour societies, the recorded turnover of these amounts to 1½ milliard lire, or £60,000,000, while the turnover of the industrial productive and agricultural societies altogether is estimated at two milliards, or £80,000,000. The activities of the agricultural societies affiliated to the National League extend to 200,000 hectares, or half a million acres of land.

Meantime, it is regrettable to relate that the co-operative movement in Italy, as well as the trade union movement, has suffered severe losses at the hands of the reactionary element. During 1921 the black hundreds of the reaction, known as the Fascisti, conducted a regular campaign of devastation against the societies of the League, and within the first six months of the year wrecked property of over 150 societies, of which 45 establishments were completely devastated or ruined by fire within the course of a single month. The total damage by devastation and plunder is estimated at millions of lire ; many co-operators have also been killed and hundreds assaulted and injured. And, significant to relate, the orders and promises made by the government in response to the denunciations of the movement have proved chiefly waste paper.

The Italian Wholesale.

The following is the statistical record of the Italian Wholesale (Consorzio delle Cooperative di Consumo), so far as the figures are available :—

Year.	Wholesale Turnover.	
	Lire.	£
1914	1,410,000	56,400
1915	2,502,170	100,087
1916	3,240,000	129,600
1917	9,000,000	360,000
1918	20,835,000	834,000

While the figures denote progress, they also indicate that there is scope for a much larger volume of trade.

The National Institute of Credit.

The National Institute of Credit (Istituto Nazionale di Credito per la Cooperazione) must also be accorded a reference in view of the financial services it renders to the co-operative movement. Some half a hundred co-operative savings banks and credit organisations are participants in the Institute, which, since its foundation in 1913 (by the State) has given increasing support to the diverse branches of co-operation. In 1920 it financed 380 co-operative productive and labour organisations by advances to the extent of 142,470,124 lire (£5,698,805), whilst the advances to 449 distributive co-operative societies and organisations amounted to 80,051,290 lire (£3,202,052), and those to agricultural co-operative societies 56,605,045 lire (£2,264,202). Meanwhile, the progress of the banks' operations may be seen from the deposit accounts. The turnover (deposits and withdrawals) as regards current accounts at interest amounted in 1920 to 338,320,851 lire (£13,532,794), as compared with 146,083,470 lire (£5,843,339) in 1919, while the turnover (deposits and withdrawals) of ordinary current accounts reached the sum of 1,592,172,658 lire (£63,686,906). The capital of the Institute in 1920 was 20,840,000 lire (£833,600), as compared with 14,420,000 lire (£576,800) in 1919.

NORWAY.

The advance of the consumers' co-operative movement in Norway is indicated by the statistics of Norway's Co-operative Union (Norges Kooperative Landsforening) which show that the collective membership of the societies affiliated to the organisation has nearly trebled since 1914, and that the collective turnover in 1920 was more than eleven times the amount recorded six years before.

Year.	Societies.	Membership.	Total Turnover of Societies.	
			Kroner.	£
1914	149	31,000	10,019,600	556,644
1915	172	34,848	16,252,300	902,906
1916	205	47,034	24,347,900	1,352,661
1917	237	59,969	39,866,000	2,214,778
1918	234	67,910	48,139,900	2,674,438
1919	294	74,875	71,215,200	3,956,400
1920	401*	88,246*	112,098,678	6,227,678

* Including 91 purchasing societies with a membership of 2,247.

The specific increases in membership are as follows: 1914-18, 119 per cent; 1918-1920, 30 per cent; 1919-20, 18 per cent; while the total increase of membership since 1914 has amounted to 178 per cent.

The following are the specific increases in collective turnover: 1914-18, 38 per cent; 1918-20, 133 per cent; 1919-20, over 57 per cent; and for the whole period 1914-1920, 1,019 per cent.

Wholesale Operations.

Apart from the set-back in 1918, the Wholesale figures of turnover show a striking increase, inasmuch as the sales figures for 1920 are practically six times as large as those for 1914.

Year.	Turnover.	
	Kroner.	£
1914	3,097,017	172,055
1915	4,457,900	247,650
1916	6,021,100	334,505
1917	8,332,311	462,906
1918	5,917,857	328,770
1919	12,063,342	670,186
1920	18,076,584	1,004,255

The productive establishments (in addition to a coffee roastery), a tobacco manufactory and a margarine manufactory, show by their comparative figures, the effects of adverse conditions in 1920, inasmuch as the output of margarine amounting in 1920 to 1,030,000 kilos, was about the same as in 1919, whilst the output in the latter year amounted to 50 per cent more than that of 1918. In 1920 the output of the tobacco manufactory amounted to kr. 1,144,062 (£63,559) as compared with £60,000 in 1919, and £18,525 in 1918.

The deposits in the banking department figured at kr. 2,685,641 (£149,202) at the end of 1920, as compared with kr. 2,189,942 (£121,663) at the end of 1919.

The year 1920 has been also a year of extensions for the further facilitation of activities as shown by the purchase of a block of property in Christiania (for new head-quarters) at a cost of a million kroner (£55,555), and the opening of departments for manufactured goods and stationery; and also by the establishment of a hardware department at Trondhjem, a branch warehouse at Bodö, and a new depôt at Hamar.

POLAND.

Of the four national unions of distributive co-operative societies in Poland, the oldest and largest is the Union of Polish Consumers' Societies (Związek Polskich Stowarzyszeń Spożywców) founded in 1911, which embraces a membership exceeding that of the other three unions put together, and which in all probability will before long embrace all the nationally organised co-operative consumers in Poland (apart from an infinitesmial number) in view of the resolution passed by the June Congress in 1920, authorising the Board to enter into negotiation with the Union of Workingmen's Co-operative Societies

and the Union of Railway Workers, with a view to the formation of one big union. The two unions in question were founded in 1919, and each has a membership exceeding 100,000, so that eventual amalgamation with the larger union will signify a great reinforcement of strength and a united co-operative movement embracing all sections of co-operative consumers, with the exception of the Christian Workers Societies (whose Union in the early part of 1920 comprised 72 societies with a total membership of 21,000), and sporadic societies and regional federations which have yet to emerge from the elementary stage of organisation.

Meanwhile the Union of Polish Consumers' Societies which, like various other continental unions, is a centralised organisation combining all the necessary operations of wholesale trading, propaganda, education and defence, is progressing at a striking pace under the republican regime, as is indicated by the membership figures for 1919 and 1920—figures which show that the Union's past record has been completely eclipsed.

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Total Membership.	Societies reporting.	Collective Turnover.	
				Marks.	£
1917	327	40,553	308	39,708,137	1,985,406
1918	462	69,205	287	65,725,270	3,286,263
1919	700*	181,156	—	288,497,924‡	14,424,896
1920	1,058†	347,459	—	1,289,009,780‖	64,450,489

* Including 73 societies indirectly affiliated through a regional union.

† 613 societies directly affiliated to the union and 445 societies affiliated to 10 regional unions.

‡ Turnover of the 627 societies directly affiliated to the union.

‖ Including the sales of the 10 regional unions' societies, amounting to 215,524,180 marks.

It may be noted that the first co-operative measure passed by the republican legislature dates from October 29th, 1920, since which date there has been one uniform code of law for co-operative societies which were formerly scattered among three different states, each state with its separate code. According to the provisions of the new republican code, every co-operative society must be registered, the liability may be either limited or unlimited, but no member shall have more than one vote whatever shares he may have. Dividends must not exceed the rate of interest of the Polish State Bank, by more than 2 per cent, and 10 per cent at least of the surplus must be placed to the reserve fund. Every co-operative society must undergo a biennial audit by an auditing union or by a committee nominated by the State Co-operative Council, two-thirds of whose members are representatives of co-operative unions and one-third consisting of representatives of the government. The State Co-operative Council likewise examines all legislative proposals concerning co-operation, and issues instructions conformable to co-operative measures, besides attending to co-operative statistics, and attending to the welfare and development of the co-operative movement.

Wholesale Operations.

In the following table the Union's wholesale trading record is shown since 1913. The figures for the post-war period are especially notable ; and in this connection it is recorded that " the huge increase of the sales amount in 1920 is principally due to the depreciation of Polish currency in that year."

Year.	Wholesale Turnover.	
	Marks.	£
1913	4,161,821	208,091
	3,583,817	179,190
1914–15	2,427,549	121,377
1916	3,040,676	152,033
1917	6,491,375	324,568
1918	11,376,130	568,806
1919	145,444,083	7,272,204
1920	756,853,765	37,842,688

N.B.—The figures denote the gross amount of turnover including interdepartmental sales. The actual net sales, amounted in 1919 to 113,444,083 mks., and in 1920 to 501,370,585 mks., (nominally £25,068,529).

The net surplus for 1920 amounted to 28,723,222 marks (nominally £1,436,161). The total amount of the surplus was transferred to the special reserve fund for eventual losses on currency on the goods credit opened to the Union by the English C.W.S. The amount of this reserve fund on January 1st, 1921, reached the sum of 37,547,390 marks (nominally £1,877,369).

The Union has landed and building property in 11 localities, and the balance value thereof is estimated nominally at 15,900,000 marks. The real value is stated to exceed 10 times that amount.

In addition to the promotion of education, special attention is paid to propaganda, as shown by the recent re-organisation and development of the co-operative press, which now comprises three periodicals, viz., " Spolnota," the popular weekly ; " Spolem," the fortnightly official organ of the Union ; and " Rzeczpospolita Spółdzielcza " (The Co-operative Commonwealth), the monthly co-operative review.

ROUMANIA.

In Roumania co-operation exists mainly in the form of credit banks and agricultural associations, and distributive co-operation occupies a minor place. Thus in 1912 there were 2,862 credit banks, with a collective membership of 563,270, while the distributive societies, 231 in number, had a membership of only 11,000. The membership of societies of all classes amounted to nearly 660,000.

Despite the vicissitudes sustained during the war, the movement in Roumania is stronger than in pre-war days, as shown by the statistics for the end of 1919, recording 3,114 popular credit banks with a total

membership of 678,061. The collective loans to members during the year amounted to 250,169,276 lei ; the collective capital and reserve funds of 3,018 of these banks amounted respectively to 243,863,256 lei, and 19,228,872 lei. The popular banks are organised into 32 departmental and 13 regional federations. The chief financial institutions of the movement is the Co-operative Credit Banking Central at Bucharest, which was established in 1903.

With regard to the consumers' movement it is stated that this now comprises over 400 societies with a collective membership of over 105,000 and a capital of 13,501,242 lei. These societies are grouped in 12 regional federations and have a joint wholesale in Bucharest.

RUSSIA.

Prior to the nationalisation of co-operative institutions by the Soviet Government in March, 1919, it was estimated by experts in the movement that Russia contained (approximately) 25,000 distributive co-operative societies, with a collective membership of nearly 12 millions—a number signifying that the stores served a population of about 60 millions, or practically a third of the whole population of Russia.

Contemporaneously therewith the development of organisation was proclaimed by the status of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies (or Centrosoyus), which from being merely a Union of societies had become a Union of unions, with a Wholesale trading turnover of 934,450,000 of roubles (about £93,500,000), and with productive enterprises, the output of which had increased to 150 million roubles (over £15,000,000) or treble the value of the output of 1916. Needless to say, the depreciation of the currency must also be taken into account where trading statistics are concerned ; but that apart, there is no discounting the fact that the lightning advance of Russian co-operation to an organised movement of colossal proportions is a phenomenon without parallel in the world's co-operative history.

Meanwhile the statistical position of the movement under the Soviet regime is indicated by a report dated January 1st, 1920, according to which the Central Union comprised 333 departmental and federal Unions, each of which had a membership of over 10,000. The capital of the Union amounted to 120,500,000 roubles, as compared with 42 millions in 1919, and 10½ millions in 1918. The turnover for 1920 was expected to reach the amount of 8 milliard roubles.

Nationalised Co-operation.

The transformation of co-operative organisations into the national distributive institution of the Soviet State, the transformation of the whole electorate into co-operative stores' members, and the bringing of the whole population within the orbit of co-operation, are now matters of history. Whatever difference of opinion there be with regard to the validity of this transformation, there can be no dispute

as to the incomparable tribute to co-operation implied in selecting it as the basic principle of the economic organisation of the State—a tribute which becomes all the more conspicuous by contrast with the capitalistic predilections of the world's governments in general, and the rebuffs which co-operative movements have been forced to encounter in many lands.

The Regain of Autonomy.

The transformation of the co-operative system into a national institution began with the distributive organisations in March and April, 1919, and was followed by the merging therein of the co-operative credit and loan savings' organisations in January, 1920. Since then there has been a large devolution of autonomy, in accordance with the enactment of April, 1921, so as to enable the voluntary association of consumers in the matter of groups, to enable co-operative societies to purchase and produce freely and also to raise share capital from their members, as may be seen from the main clauses in the enactment.

(3) Within the territory of a distributive co-operative society, the association of citizens into smaller territorial units or groups of persons of a craft or vocation is permitted. All such associations are obligated to register with the Executive Board of the Central District Co-operative Society within whose district they are formed. Entrance into such an association, as well as exit therefrom, is open to all; but no one may be a member of more than one such association at one time.

(5) Distributive Co-operative Societies are accorded the right to acquire, by way of exchange or purchase, and also to sell the residual quantity of agricultural products as well as products of domestic industry. Therewith co-operative organisations have also the right to purchase independently from country and urban producers, from peasants, home industrialists, handworkers, and co-operative societies, the productions of such by way of contracts with each group of producers and with co-operative societies as well, provided that such contracts do not conflict with the legislation of the Soviet Government. The contracts relate to the provision, delivery, elaboration, storing and cleaning of various products, as well as the provision of implements and various materials.

Distributive co-operative societies are authorised to organise undertakings of various kinds for the production of raw materials as well as for their working up, and also to establish milk farms within the territory of towns, as well as to establish other similar undertakings, and to execute commissions from consumers' associations, authorities, and individuals.

(9) Distributive Co-operative Societies and their Unions also receive the right to raise contributions, share capital, and advances from their members. The total contributions may be raised both in the form of subscriptions of money and of natural productions.

And along with the extension of liberties the right of societies to obtain supplies from their district Central Society remains as before. And on the other hand the following are the obligations of the societies to the State :—

(1) The acceptance of commissions from the organs of public relief as regards the supply and exchange of productions of manufactories and home industries for agricultural products.

(2) The distribution of the whole stock of victuals and commodities of mass consumption supplied by the government from the nationalised manufactories or concessionised undertakings or imported from abroad.

(3) The whole of the food supplies and articles of mass consumption allotted by the State to the population, must be distributed through the co-operative societies exclusively.

From the above particulars it will be seen that the co-operative organisation in Russia may now be described as a State institution working on the basis of autonomy ; *i.e.*, a State institution exercising home rule.

SPAIN.

Spain is a land where co-operation, as yet, is mainly in the provincial stage of organisation. Meanwhile it remains for the recorder to deal specifically with the two leading regional movements—the movements in Catalonia and the North of Spain with respective centres of operations in Barcelona and Biscay ; in other words, with the oldest and the youngest co-operative movements in the Spanish peninsula.

Of the movement in Catalonia no full particulars are available since the beginning of 1918, when the statistics embraced 219 distributive societies and 24 productive ; the distributive societies having a total membership of 32,302 and a collective turnover of 19,278,586 pesetas (£771,000), whilst the productive societies had a turnover of 3,111,922 pesetas (£122,400) and a membership comprising 264 concerns, in addition to 5,388 individuals. The representative organisation of the movement is the Regional Federation of Catalonian Co-operative Societies (Federación Regional de Cooperativas Catalanas), which has an economic section for the conducting of Wholesale operations for societies affiliated.

Turning next to North Spain we find there a young and active movement, which has been recently organised in the Union of Co-operative Societies of the North of Spain (Union de Cooperativas del Norte de España), which, at the end of 1920, counted 35 affiliated societies, with a collective membership of 14,253 and a turnover of 16,042,266 pesetas (£641,691). The Union discharges the functions of a Wholesale for the benefit of its affiliated societies, and its turnover in 1920 amounted to 5,089,460 pesetas (£203,578), or 2,034,251 pesetas (£81,370) in excess of the turnover for 1919. The issue of a co-operative periodical (" Cooperatismo ") in 1921 also betokens the initiative manifested in the domain of propaganda.

It may further be noted that the first congress of workers co-operative societies in Spain was held at Madrid in May, 1921 ; 300 societies being represented by 200 delegates. The Congress decided on the organisation of a National Federation of Workers' Co-operative Societies, based on regional, provincial, and local federations. The head-quarters of the National Federation to be in Madrid.

SWEDEN.

The Swedish Co-operative Union (Kooperativa Förbundet), which is also a Wholesale society, embraces four-fifths of the consumers' societies in Sweden, and the collective membership of its affiliated organisations has more than doubled since 1914. Assuming that

each member represents a household, nearly one-sixth of the Swedish people are now co-operatively organised.

Year.	Number of Societies.	Societies reporting.	Membership.	Turnover of Societies.	
				Kronor.	£
1914	583	537	111,293	39,466,473	2,192,582
1915	687	581	127,876	54,608,695	3,033,816
1916	785	737	169,063	81,661,807	4,536,767
1918	849	771	203,600	143,871,000	7,992,833
1919	916	879	225,423	216,118,000	12,006,555
1920	948	—	240,716	*	*

* Figures not yet available.

Apart from the distributive societies, there are also four insurance societies belonging to the Union. These societies had a collective membership of 167,858 in 1920, as against 144,901 in 1919. The sum total of co-operators' capital in the Union, the distributive societies and insurance societies all combined, amounted at the end of 1920 to 35 million kronor, or a little over £1,944,000.

Wholesale Operations.

At the close of the first business decade in 1913, the Union's Wholesale trading operations showed a turnover of 7,621,304 kronor, or £423,406. The following figures show the subsequent increase :—

Year.	Turnover.	
	Kronor.	£
1914	9,889,252	549,403
1915	16,497,640	916,536
1916	22,013,232	1,222,957
1917	21,802,603	1,211,256
1918	27,989,733	1,554,985
1919	69,149,626	3,841,646
1920	69,519,887	3,862,216

The Union started its first productive enterprise early in 1921. The sum total of Savings Bank deposits amounted to 10,909,205 kr. at the end of 1920, as compared with 9,203,932 kr. for 1919, and 7,209,448 kr. for 1918.

SWITZERLAND.

The Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies (Verband schweiz. Konsumvereine), which embraces approximately four-fifths of the distributive co-operative membership of the country, has increased its membership since 1914 by 31 per cent, and since 1918 by 6 per cent. The respective increase in the collective sales turnover of societies, viz., 130 per cent since 1914 and 39 per cent since 1918, naturally bears witness to the rise of prices and the increased cost of living.

Year.	Affiliated Societies.	Societies reporting.	Total membership.	Collective Turnover.	
				Francs.	£
1914	396	—	276,431	143,650,971	5,746,039
1915	407	—	286,704	135,509,788	5,420,391
1916	421	407	305,326	159,799,945	6,391,998
1917	434	422	324,948	197,435,555	7,897,422
1918	461	433	341,826	237,595,776	9,503,831
1919	476	443	353,811	289,666,378	11,586,655
1920	493	453	362,284	330,822,645	13,232,895

In 1920 the collective net surplus of the societies amounted to 16,340,235 francs (£653,609) and the collective amount paid in dividend to 13,789,648 francs (£551,586). The paid-up share capital figured at 8,483,926 francs (£339,357) and the savings and deposits at 37,303,564 francs (£1,492,142), while the book value of immovables stood at 60,961,257 francs (£2,438,450).

Wholesale Operations.

The Union's Wholesale operations since 1914 are set forth in the following table :—

Year.	Sales Turnover.	
	Francs.	£
1914	45,717,076	1,828,683
1915	50,193,161	2,007,727
1916	74,658,943	2,986,358
1917	96,185,998	3,847,440
1918	129,719,746	5,188,790
1919	141,441,837	5,657,673
1920	172,028,668	6,881,146

Finance.—In the balance sheet for 1920 the Wholesale's capital resources figure at 47,933,694 francs, of which own capital and reserves amount to 10,739,308 francs and loan capital to 37,194,386 francs. The figures of the banking department show a considerable increase in number as regards both current and deposit accounts.

Production.—In the industrial domain the V.S.K. possesses a boot and shoe manufactory, a printing and book-binding establishment, besides two coffee roasteries, a fat boilery, a spice mill (for the production of pepper, cinnamon, &c.), and a pickled cabbage manufactory. In 1916 the " back-to-the-land " policy was adopted and the V.S.K. now possesses eight estates (six purchased outright and two taken on lease), comprising a total of 438 hectares of farming and other land, or about 1,000 acres in round figures.

The movement also carries on, as distinct enterprises, a co-operative dairy at Basle, a couple of corn mills (one at Zurich and another at Vevey), a co-operative society for the supply of furniture, two insurance societies, and a kitchen-gardening society. In addition to being financially interested in the foregoing concerns, the V.S.K. is also a predominant shareholder in the largest meat-purveying firm in Switzerland.

The co-operative garden village of Freidorf is one of the latest developments.

THE UKRAINE REPUBLIC.

The fullest available particulars with regard to co-operation in the Ukraine are those for March, 1919, compiled by the Ukraine Co-operative Committee (Kooperocentr), and showing the status of the whole movement 14 months subsequent to the establishment of the Republic in January, 1918.

According to the data given the Ukraine in 1919 contained 11,029 consumers' societies, 2,184 credit societies, 941 loan and savings societies, and 486 agricultural societies, or 14,640 co-operative societies altogether. The huge preponderance of the consumers' societies is shown by their constituting 75 per cent of the total.

The central organisation of the distributive co-operative movement—the Dnieper Union of Consumers' Societies (or Dnieprosoyus) whose head-quarters are at Kiev, has undergone a rapid development since it commenced its activities shortly after the revolution—activities now comprising production as well as wholesale trading, besides printing, publishing, and insurance, and including also the promotion of co-operative education, and the rendering of legal and other assistance to affiliated societies; all the activities, in fact, proper to an organisation in which union and wholesale are combined.

The progress of organisation in other branches of co-operation is indicated by the operations of the Ukraine Co-operative Bank, which operates as the central financial institution for the movement as a whole, and also as a wholesale provider of implements and materials to the co-operative agricultural societies, which have also their central organisation in the Ukraine Co-operative Agricultural Union. In short, the spirit of progress speaks well for the future of co-operation in the Ukraine, especially in view of the natural resources of South Russia, whose future development all can foresee.

YUGO-SLAVIA.

The State of Yugo-Slavia (comprising the kingdom of Serbia with the addition of various territories formerly belonging to Austria-Hungary—and hence officially styled the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) contains a co-ordinated co-operative movement, as shown by the foundation in 1919 of the General Co-operative Federation, embracing 11 co-operative unions with a total of 3,800 societies, with a collective membership reaching nearly half a million persons. The Congress held in the same year at Belgrade foreshadowed considerable developments.

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

The co-operative movement in the Argentine Republic is, as yet, in the making, as is indicated by the second conference of distributive societies (held at the end of October, 1920), at which 30 societies were represented. A Wholesale Society has been instituted.

The leading society in the movement is the "Workers' Household" Credit, Building and Distributive Co-operative Society (El Hogar Obrero Cooperativo de Credito Edificación y Consumo) in Buenos Ayres, whose trading turnover amounted to 773,316 pesos (£154,663) in 1920, as compared with 520,658 pesos (£104,131) in 1919 and 94,178 pesos (£18,835) in 1914. The society has over 5,500 members.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

In the Australian Commonwealth distributive co-operation has made most progress in the States of New South Wales and South Australia, as is betokened by the Wholesale at Newcastle in the former state, and by the efforts made for the establishment of a similar institution in Adelaide for the societies in the latter. Aspirations there are also for the establishment of a national union, but the realisation thereof will manifestly be a matter of time in a land of large spaces and sporadic populations.

Meanwhile agrarian co-operation is ahead of industrial, as might be anticipated from the predominant pursuits of the population. In New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, the co-operative societies for the marketing of produce are a special feature, and the aggregate turnover of Australian marketing societies amounted even in 1918 to close on £12,000,000, the progress of organisation being shown also by the first inter-state conference of co-operative companies at Melbourne, and the decision to establish a Federal Wholesale Society.

In NEW ZEALAND there are fourteen co-operative distributive societies with a collective membership of between 4,000 and 5,000, and collective sales to the yearly amount of over £100,000. All these societies have been formed on the Rochdale plan. The Co-operative Union and Wholesale, which has been recently formed, should prove the harbinger of further developments.

CANADA.

Canada contains some hundreds of retail co-operative societies, but the difficulties inseparable from the organisation of societies scattered over an immense area have proved a great obstacle to the movement.

So far as distributive co-operation is concerned the organising force is the Co-operative Union of Canada, which was founded in

1909, and which at the end of 1920 embraced over a score of societies, of which the 20 reporting possessed collectively 7,427 members, share and loan capital to the amount of 394,470 dollars, and a reserve fund of 40,419 dollars. The collective sales for the year amounted to 2,465,253 dollars, an increase of 418,114 dollars on the previous year. The net " profits " for the year figured at 165,904 dollars.

In addition to the foregoing retail societies the Co-operative Union of Canada also includes the United Grain Growers' Ltd. (Winnipeg, Manitoba), which is an important marketing as well as distributive organisation, centrally operated, with a membership scattered over the Western provinces. This organisation at the end of 1920 had a membership of 35,929, and a distributive sales turnover of 6,908,896 dollars, apart from its marketing operations.

Adding the figures of this organisation to those of the retail societies, it will be seen that organised co-operation in Canada has 43,356 members, with an aggregate distributive turnover of 9,374,149 dollars.

Meantime agricultural co-operation is the predominant category in Canada, and farmers' co-operative organisations are rapidly extending their operations, as shown by the progress made in the provinces of Ontario, New Brunswick, Quebec, and elsewhere. In the province of Quebec and the French-speaking districts of Ontario the credit-bank system is also making great headway.

INDIA.

Industrial co-operation in India is as yet a minor feature, but the co-operative movement (especially in the form of credit societies) is advancing at a pace which is worth noting, as may be seen from the figures derived from the official returns issued by the Government of India in 1920.

NUMBER OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND MEMBERSHIP FOR ALL INDIA.

	1915–16.		1918–19.	
	No. of Societies.	Membership.	No. of Societies.	Membership.
Central (including Central Banks and Banking Unions)	244	47,776	333	107,747
Supervising and Guaranteeing Unions (including Re-insurance Societies)	362	5,607	748	13,706
Agricultural (including Cattle Insurance Societies)	18,050	716,858*	29,387	974,216
Non-Agricultural	1,019	148,195	1,971	261,675
Total	19,675	865,053	32,439	1,235,891

* Excluding members of Cattle Insurance Societies.

Of both the agricultural and non-agricultural societies, credit societies form the great majority. Thus the agricultural societies in 1918-19 comprised 28,487 credit societies, 190 purchase and purchase and sale societies, 52 for production, 174 for production and sale, and 74 engaged in other forms of co-operation. The non-agricultural societies in 1918-19 comprised 1,350 credit societies, 443 purchase and purchase and sale societies, 3 productive, 148 productive and sale, and 27 societies engaged in other branches of co-operation.

During the year 1918-19 the number of agricultural societies (excluding insurance societies) increased from 23,741 to 28,977, and the number of non-agricultural societies increased from 1,451 to 1,971. The total membership, working capital, and profits at the close of the year were as follows :—

	Members.	Capital Rs. (lakhs.)	Profits Rs.
Agricultural Societies	967,318 ..	8,09 ..	29,94,993
Non-Agricultural Societies	261,675 ..	2,17 ..	8,92,232
Total.....	1,228,993 ..	10,26 ..	38,87,225

JAPAN.

Though the Co-operative movement in Japan has grown to considerable dimensions since its inauguration thirty years ago, it still retains the predominant characteristics of a movement concerned with the welfare of agriculturists and small producers.

Thus in 1920 the movement comprised 13,000 societies (in round figures) divided into the four categories of credit societies, sales societies, purchasing societies, and productive societies.

The credit societies comprise the overwhelming majority of the whole, and in 1918 their sum total of advances amounted to close on 92 million yen ; interest being charged at the rate of 9 and 10 per cent.

The sales societies, whose function it is to dispose of the products consigned by their members, numbered in 1918 about 6,500, and their total sales amounted to 134 million yen. The products disposed of included rice, corn, sugar, vegetables, fruits, tea, cocoons, raw silk, cattle, tissues, porcelains, wood, fish, paper, &c.

The purchasing societies are consumers' societies in a double sense, inasmuch as they procure the commodities required for the industries of their members as well as those necessary for subsistence. In 1918 the purchases of these societies amounted to 85 million yen.

The productive societies take the raw products supplied by their members and work them up into the manufactured state, or provide the equipment therefor. The sterilisation of milk, the cleaning of grain, the drying of cocoons, the reeling and spinning of silk, and

dyeing, as well as the packing of rice, corn, &c., form part of their operations, another part being the loan of agricultural implements, of granaries for the storage of corn, of rooms for the drying of cocoons, and of fishing boats and tackle, &c., to their members.

In 1918 the funds of co-operative societies amounted to 54 million yen—that is, 37 millions of capital, and 17 millions in the reserve funds. In the same year there were 100 regional federations in addition to a Central Society (founded in 1905) with a membership of 11,380 (9,099 co-operative societies, and 2,281 honorary members).

The co-operative societies in Japan possess sundry legal privileges including the derivation of loans from a State Loan Bank. In 1919 the loans amounted to 13 million yen.

In accordance with State regulations, a member of a co-operative society possesses one vote, and is entitled to take up a limited number of shares, and to receive a limited dividend.

SOUTH AFRICA.

In South Africa the leading agency in co-operative development is the South African Industrial Federation Co-operative Development Company, under whose auspices between one and two score societies have been established, in addition to a printing works; and it may be noted that co-operation has gained a footing in such leading centres as Capetown, Durban, Pretoria, Kimberley, Bulawayo, &c. And, as the movement has reached the congressional stage and a resolution in favour of establishing a Co-operative Wholesale Society was passed some time ago, developments may be anticipated.

THE UNITED STATES.

An authoritative article on the "Consumers' Movement in the United States" is given in another part of the YEAR BOOK.

THE SCANDINAVIAN INTERNATIONAL.

The Northern Co-operative Wholesale Society (Nordisk Andelsforbund) has justified its existence as the joint institution of the Distributive Co-operative Wholesales of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, since its establishment in Copenhagen in 1918. At the general meeting in 1921 it was announced that the turnover for the business year amounted to over 11 million kroner (£611,000), and the net surplus to 143,000 kroner, as compared with a turnover of 9,647,649 kroner (£535,980), and a net surplus of 199,868 kroner for the year before. Under the conditions an increase of capital was decided upon.

VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, BASLE,
which opened on August 22nd and closed on the 25th, 1921.

G. J. D. C. GOEDHART,
President of the International Co-operative Alliance.

THE OUTLOOK OF THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.

By The President of the I.C.A.

IT is always very hazardous to prophesy, and so I do not venture to say what is the outlook of the I.C.A. I can only express my hope as to the future of the institution.

The I.C.A. has now been in existence for nearly a quarter of a century, during which it has steadily grown and steadily adapted its rules and regulations to new conditions and circumstances, so that it has now become a strong and enduring alliance of numerous unions and societies.

All now depends on the power of the Alliance to arouse public interest. As G. J. Holyoake truly said : " No committee can go faster than the members of their society allow." To the same law the Central Committee of the Alliance are subject, and therefore will not be able to move forward unless the souls of the members of the unions and societies belonging to the Alliance are imbued with co-operation.

But what we have seen at Basle inspires us with good hope. The Congress was crowded and enthusiasm was everywhere manifest. This enthusiasm expressed itself in three important facts : First, in the general agreement to the inauguration of an International Co-operative Wholesale Society ; second, in the foundation of an International Co-operative Women's Guild ; and third, in the adoption of the programme for the immediate future.

These three resolutions should give a great impetus to the cause of co-operation, for they start from the supposition that co-operation is so far developed in the various countries that the members regard the movement as a pathway leading to a better human society. The programme for the near future will require considerable funds, and will entail much and arduous work on the part of the committee and staff, but that need not daunt us. Under the able and untiring lead of the General Secretary, the staff will be enlarged to the dimensions necessitated by the work. The members of the Central Committee, moreover, are all strong in the co-operative faith. So we may have good hope.

Perhaps the development of the I.C.A. will not proceed as rapidly as we are hoping ; but those who have faith do not haste.

C. J. D. C. Goedhart.

The Hague.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

By H. J. May,

Secretary of the International Co-operative Alliance.

TO the readers of the People's Year Book the term "International Co-operation" has a special significance. It postulates the gigantic movement amongst the workers of the world, which, beginning in 1844 with twenty-eight of the unemployed of Lancashire, has grown like a grain of mustard seed, until it has practically covered the earth. It stands for the organised efforts of 25 million co-operators to effect their economic freedom, social emancipation, and the establishment of society upon a basis of brotherhood instead of that of the competition of individuals struggling for the mastery.

It is well, however, to remember that to the larger world outside our movement International Co-operation has become an imperative necessity for the preservation of peace and the restoration of humanity.

Viscount Grey, speaking recently on the work of the League of Nations and the lessons of the war, urged International Co-operation as our supreme hope, and declared that we must "learn or perish." So co-operators must learn that the future of their movement depends more than ever upon a vigorous development of International Co-operation as they understand and practice it. The needs of the hour demand this as a natural progression towards the goal we have set before us, and as part of the inevitable reconstruction of civilisation, but the continued success of our own national and local sections also require it. In this, as in other things, the law of nature is progress and activity. We must "learn or perish"—learn that our movement has "made good" during the terrible crisis through which the world has passed; that it has impressed itself upon the community as an instrument of goodwill toward men; that it has reached the hour of its supreme opportunity—and go forward to grasp it or perish in the success which our anxiety to conserve may easily stifle the desire for advance, and weaken the courage and self-sacrifice which alone made the beginnings possible.

Nay, more, we would urge that through our working-class movement may be realised more quickly and effectively those larger hopes for which the League of Nations stands. Certainly the latter is in urgent need of an infusion of that spirit of democracy and the practice of "All for each, and each for all," which has made the co-operative movement the most wonderful commercial organisation in our country and is capable of producing a similar international force for the whole world.

Re-arrangements in the I.C.A.

The International Co-operative Alliance makes steady progress in its efforts to deal with this vast problem, which its ideals and purpose

definitely aim at solving. During the past year the unity of its several parts has been almost completely re-established and its pre-war work fully resumed. Its membership and constitution have been, to say the least, re-arranged. Membership is affected in the first place by the territorial adjustments of the Treaty of Versailles and revolutions like that of Czecho-Slovakia. The Czech Union, though in separate membership with the Alliance, was practically a part of Austrian co-operation. It now has its own national existence fully recognised, in addition to which there has been admitted to membership the German Union of Consumers' Societies in Czecho-Slovakia, representing the 3,000,000 German population in the Republic.

On the Hungarian side we have now a new Union of Working Men's Co-operative Societies, with head-quarters at Budapest, so that the old territory of Austria-Hungary, which was represented by three national organisations before the war now accounts for five—Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia are other national additions, all of them striking instances of "self-determination."

The constitution of the Alliance has been amended by a general revision of rules, the main effects of which may be summarised as the elimination of all individual membership of persons ; the limitation of individual society membership to special cases, like Great Britain ; and a general tightening of the conditions which will make for a clear cut Alliance of national organisations.

An interesting, if contested, amendment, is the introduction to the "Eligibility for Membership" rule of a definition which reads :—

> "Consumers' Co-operative Societies which conform to the principles of Rochdale, particularly as to—
>
> (*a*) The equal right of voting of all members irrespective of, or without regard to, the amount of shares held by each.
>
> (*b*) The distribution of the surplus, apart from the limited interest on shares, either amongst the members in proportion to their purchases, or carried to collective reserve funds, or allocated to works of education and solidarity."

So, for the first time, we have the essentials of the Rochdale system adopted as a test for co-operation throughout the world.

While an attempt has been made to reform the membership on a national basis, the important step of constituting an International Executive—hitherto entirely British—has been carried out. It has been enlarged from five to ten members and now comprises 3 British, 1 French, 1 Belgian, 1 German, 1 Swiss, 1 Czech, and 1 Scandinavian representative, together with the President, who represents Holland.

This change had become urgent if the work of the Alliance were to proceed at the increased pace which the circumstances demand, and with the regard for the interests of all the members, which is

the elemental right in a " pure " democracy. It will be observed that Russia, for the moment, has no place on the new Executive, but it is generally admitted that the numerically largest organisation in the Alliance cannot long be left outside. The new Executive will hold its meetings in different centres not too distant from the seat of the Alliance, and thus add another means of disseminating the international seed.

The Question of Exchange.

The question of exchange, as distinct from the general financial position, may be of interest here. One of the first economic shocks of the war which the Britishers experienced was the loss of our standard of currency, the golden sovereign. Our pride in its pre-eminence, in its " open sesame " throughout the world, had a fall when we were compelled to use a paper currency, but it rolled in the dust when we discovered that a British £ no longer passed for twenty shillings in America, Holland, Switzerland, or even Scandinavia. We can scarcely imagine, however, the dismay and misery which have followed the catastrophic fall in the currencies of countries like Germany and Austria. All these fluctuations have been reflected in the income of the Alliance, and up to the present the loss thus incurred cannot be put at less than £8,000. To a considerable extent that loss must continue until the economic restoration of Europe has proceeded far enough to stablish the exchanges at something like normal values. So the Alliance is in the curious position of having for its chief task the cure of the evil which deprives it of the means of activity.

Meanwhile, the difficulty of the exchanges, as they affect subscriptions, is to be bridged by a compromise, which reads : " The standard of all subscriptions shall be the pound sterling, but, while the present depreciation in the currency of various countries continues, payments may be made at not less than the mean rate between the pound sterling and that of the respective countries."

That is a co-operative arrangement to which all the parties concerned are contributing on lines of mutual sacrifice. A further arrangement, which would certainly never be conceded in organisations of the capitalist régime, is that in calculating the right to representation at Congresses and on the Central Bureau of the Alliance, both of which are based on subscriptions, credit shall be given to each country for its total subscriptions at their face or par values We would urge our readers to ponder a moment on this provision, not so much for its own sake as for its wider application to the question. of the day. In this way we absolve our fellow co-operators in other countries from the responsibility for the " slough of despond " into which the war has forced them, and instead of making a profit out of their woes, we share their loss. Unless nations adopt a similar

principle the restoration of Europe will be indefinitely delayed and the last loss will be greater than the first would have been.

The Basle Congress.

The long-expected Congress at Basle has come and gone. It was a success from start to finish, made so, in the first place, by the eager response from all the countries whose numerical representation was only limited by the depth of their purses; in the second, by the overflowing generosity and excellent organisation of the Swiss Union, and lastly by the sustained interest in the proceedings, perhaps a little overcrowded with items of burning interest.

Two or three outstanding points in the work of the Congress are all that space will permit us here. But first let us record the honour done to the International Movement by the presence of the chief of the Swiss Republic, President E. Schulthess. In an eloquent address he demonstrated the democratic sentiments of the state he so worthily represents, and also a deep knowledge of the Co-operative movement combined with sympathy for its ideals.

The first feature of the work of the Congress which seems worthy of record here is the new or revised programme of work which the Congress unanimously adopted. It is well to keep the goal before our eyes, and, whether as a declaration of faith, or a programme to be accomplished, it will be sufficiently in advance of our immediate capacity to afford a constant impetus, a magnetic force leading to its own achievement.

PROGRAMME OF FUTURE WORK.

1. The convening of International Congresses for the purpose of exchanging ideas and experience on methods of organisation, lines of development and policy. Also with the object of concerted action to secure objects of national and international importance.
2. The initiation of Propaganda Meetings in great centres to spread the co-operative faith nationally and internationally.
3. The organisation, where possible, of International Exhibitions of Co-operative Productions to aid 1 and 2.
4. The publication of Journals, Books and Pamphlets, such as the Bulletin, Year Books, Congress Reports and smaller publications dealing with the history, principles and present practice of co-operation; also economic problems and statistics.
5. The establishment of a regular Press Exchange for the double purpose of placing the publications of each national organisation at the disposal of all the others, and of providing a special Press Service to supply information for publication in every country.
6. The establishment at the Seat of the Alliance of a permanent Library of Co-operative literature and publications.
7. The promotion of International Co-operative Trading.
8. The promotion of International Co-operative Banking.
9. The establishment of a Central Bureau of Economic Statistics and Information.
10. The development of a policy of International Co-operation with a view to establishing fiscal relations between nations on the principles of co-operation.
11. The co-ordination of "co-operative production" in order to secure to the co-operative world the most efficient service at the lowest cost and supplies direct from their sources.

12. The preparation of Charts, Diagrams, Photographs, &c., illustrative of the works of co-operation.
13. The promotion of relations with other international organisations, such as the International Labour Bureau, the Trade Union International, the Bureau of International Statistics, Housing, &c.
14. The collection and publication, where desirable, of full information on the constitution, methods, experience, results, &c., of the various national co-operative organisations.
15. The promotion of the study of languages by co-operators.
16. The organisation of holiday travel and study travel, and the general facilitation of personal relations between co-operators of different countries.
17. The development of the I.C.A. into an effective League of Nations.

Russia.

Without doubt the question which was of the most absorbing interest for the Congress, and which gave rise to the most acute division, was that of the representation of Russian Co-operation in the Alliance. It is extremely difficult to epitomise the position within the limits of a paragraph, but as the decision taken by the British Executive and overwhelmingly endorsed by the Congress promises to become historic, we make the attempt.

The Russian Central Union has been a member of the Alliance since 1903, and at the Glasgow International Congress in 1913 two of its representatives were re-elected to the Central Committee, which, like the Central Board of the British Co-operative Union, serves from one Congress to another, and is responsible to Congress for the work of the I.C.A. At the Geneva meeting of the Central Committee, in April, 1920, the Russian representatives resident in London reported that they had received news to the effect that the Central Co-operative Union at Moscow (" Centrosoyus ") had been taken under the control of the Soviet Government. The Central Committee passed a resolution of protest against this action, which they regarded as inimical to voluntary co-operation.

At The Hague, in October, 1920, the Executive asked the Central Committee to decide whether the " Centrosoyus " at Moscow, or the Society formed in London by the Russian representatives excluded from Russia, was the member of the I.C.A. This question became necessary in view of a message received by the Alliance from Moscow declaring that the representatives then in London had been removed from office and others appointed in their stead. This they had a perfect right to do under the rules of the I.C.A. The decision of the Central Committee evaded the specific point of membership and said : " The present Russian delegates on the Central Committee being, like the other delegates, appointed from one Congress to another in accordance with the rules of the I.C.A. therefore remain in office." Moreover, the Executive were instructed to report on the progress of affairs in Russia, but when they presented their report to the Central Committee at Copenhagen it was " referred back," chiefly because of its suggestion that the conditions affecting the liberty of co-operative organisations in Russia showed a tendency towards amelioration !

This continued avoidance of the direct issue by the Central Committee left the Executive with the responsibility of deciding to whom the invitations to appoint delegates to the Congress and to nominate representatives for election to the Central Committee should be sent. Now the decision of The Hague meeting in October, 1920, was that the nominations to the Central Committee in 1913 by " Centrosoyus " at Moscow held good until the next Congress. Throughout the whole period of the dispute no resolution has been adopted or even proposed to exclude or suspend the " Centrosoyus " from membership of the I.C.A., and in fact its subscription has been paid up to date. The Executive, therefore, decided that the " Centrosoyus " at Moscow was the only body which could properly nominate representatives to the Central Committee and appoint delegates to the Congress, and that they be invited to do so. Further, that the Congress at Basle be recommended to adopt these conclusions as the solution of the deadlock in our relations with the Russian Co-operative Movement.

This recommendation was embodied in the report to the Congress, but at the Central Committee meeting at Basle, held previous to the Congress, an amendment to the report was adopted asking the Congress to leave vacant the places of Russia on the Central Committee until the next meeting of that body in 1922, when the question could be considered. To British minds this was only a further evasion of the direct issue, especially as the amendment, by implication, admitted the right of the " Centrosoyus " to appoint delegates to the Congress. If that were admitted then there could be no question of their right to their quota of places on the Central Committee.

Moreover, the amendment had the appearance, definitely expressed in at least one speech in the Congress, of placing the authority of the Central Committee above that of the Congress.

A prolonged, and at times heated, discussion took place in the Congress, but eventually the recommendation of the Executive was adopted by 733 votes to 474. The majority was made up of a practically solid vote of British, Czech, Dutch and Italian delegates, some French and a few Swiss votes.

The flood of criticism of this decision which has appeared in certain continental journals shows how acute was the division of opinion on the subject, and the charges of Bolshevik sympathies against the supporters of justice to Russian co-operation, perhaps indicate more truly than anything else the real nature of the opposition.

We are convinced that the majority was obtained in the main solely on the merits of the claim which an organisation in membership with the Alliance has to enjoy its privileges under the rules If any other consideration arose it was that a fatal blunder would be made if the Congress endorsed the virtual exclusion or suspension of a country like Russia, without whose presence the unity of the I.C.A. was impossible, and still more so the restoration of the economic

balance in Europe. We believe that time will prove that the Congress acted with wisdom and vision in arriving at this decision.

It is good to be able to note that, side by side with the decision of Basle, commercial relations with British Co-operation have been definitely resumed.

Other Features of the Congress.

We have now only space to deal in résumé with two or three points. International Trading will be dealt with by others, but the relations to be established between the I.C.A. and the International Wholesale Society of the future were dealt with in a useful paper by Mr. H. Kaufmann (Secretary of the German Union).

He advocated an organic union between the two organisations such as is common enough on the Continent. His proposals had the overwhelming support of the Central Committee, and of the majority of the members of the Committee of National Wholesale Societies, which is dealing with this question at the request of the I.C.A. We are convinced that his proposals would have also received the practically unanimous vote of the Congress if they had been submitted to the vote.

The methods of procedure at a Congress where the proceedings are conducted in three languages, and where some of the delegates are unable to address their fellows in either one of them, presents some difficulties. Mr. Kaufmann was somehow persuaded that the British Co-operative Movement owed its success to the policy of keeping the trading and propagandist organisations quite apart from one another. He therefore abandoned his proposals before the Congress and rendered the resolution adopted entirely abortive of the purpose for which it had been prepared.

Mr. Victor Serwy (Belgium) presented the case for a proper understanding between trade unionists and co-operators, and in so doing showed that the habit (for it has now become so) of the organised workers to demand higher wages and better conditions from co-operative societies than they are able to obtain in the competitive world is not confined to the British Isles.

Our friend, Alderman F. Hayward, submitted a convincing case for co-operative representation on the Council of the International Labour Bureau at Geneva, which the central organisations of the various countries have been pressing upon their governments for some time past. So far, only the German Government has taken any definite step to meet our request.

The excellent papers of Professor C. Gide, M. Albert Thomas, and Mr. Anders Oerne (the latter just appointed Swedish Minister of Transport) were exceedingly important, but require an article to themselves.

One other feature of the Congress we must mention, and that is the first organised International Conference of Women, which met at Basle, and definitely decided upon establishing an International Women's Guild.

LAYING FOUNDATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADE.

INTERNATIONAL co-operative trade is full of complications, and we can scarcely expect that it can be put into operation with the same facility that national co-operation was begun and developed. It is the opinion of many of its advocates, nevertheless, that it should be promoted on similar lines, inasmuch as international, like national, co-operation must begin in a small way, and we must extend it as best we can by providing the essential conditions in which it can be done with satisfaction to those who engage in co-operative trading transactions.

International co-operative trade has been discussed now for many years, and an effort was made to make it practical on constitutional lines at the International Co-operative Congress at Basle in August of 1921. It had been previously dealt with by a special general trading committee, and a sub-committee of Co-operative Wholesale Societies, formed about two years ago, to which reference will be made later on.

One of the first requirements in cultivating international trade is information of the capacity of wholesale societies to supply goods one to another from their own productive concerns, or for the matter of that from purchases made through outside sources. With the object of providing the necessary knowledge and enlightenment we have obtained a number of articles from prominent European co-operative leaders, and these are printed in pages that follow this contribution. The writers not only convey their own opinions about the necessity and importance of international co-operative trade to the economic development of Europe in accordance with co-operative principles, but enumerate the productions of their own Wholesale Societies, and indicate to what extent they can supply goods through a system of co-operative exchange. It will be seen, however, that considerable extension is needed, apart from practical experience of international trading operations, before we can hope to carry on international business on a large scale. But there is in it all a good nucleus for a beginning, and we commend the informative contributions to your attention. Trading is now being done from time to time, and although offers made from one wholesale society to another cannot be always entertained, or the goods are not always suitable to the requirements of those to whom they are offered, it is only by maintaining negotiations that obstacles will be removed.

An International Society.

A bare indication of what is being done to advance international trade between European Wholesale Societies may be useful. Soon after the Armistice of November, 1918, and free intercourse was restored between European co-operative organisations, the question

of international co-operative trading came gradually to the front. This led to an Association of Co-operative Wholesale Societies, with a general committee and a sub-committee. Its work, of necessity, was mainly of a preliminary character, and consisted of meetings to discuss the possibilities of inter-trading, to find out what each wholesale society could provide, in the way of commodities, for export, and incidentally, to make exchanges of articles where this could be done with advantage.

The principal part of the work fell to the sub-committee. The first meeting of the full committee was on August 20th, 1919, in London. The sub-committee's functions included the framing of regulations, and the committee consisted of the following representatives: Messrs. A. W. Golightly (England), who acted as chairman; R. Stewart (Scotland), A. J. Cleuet (France), V. Serwy (Belgium), W. Selheim (Russia), Anders Nielsen (Denmark), Dr. A. Suter (Switzerland), and Mr. T. Brodrick (England), who was appointed secretary and convenor. Mr. Nielsen has since resigned, and Messrs. H. Petzold (Germany), C. J. D. C. Goedhart (Holland), and A. Johanssen (Sweden), have been added.

How to Proceed.

The next meeting of the general committee was held at Geneva on April 14th, 1920, at which a draft of the sub-committee's proposals was adopted, this being :—

Clause 1.—That, as a preliminary towards the realisation of an International Wholesale Society, the first step should be the concentration of all co-operative effort in each country, so as to form one body with which the Co-operative Wholesale Societies in other countries may communicate and arrange direct business. This would at once solidify resources and power and tend to reduce working costs also produce a better understanding.

Clause 2.—That each Co-operative Wholesale Society be invited to form an export department in order that, by specialisation, they would become conversant with the requirements of co-operators in other countries through enquiries made, and therefore, in due course, would be able to anticipate their desires by sending patterns, samples, and prices of what surplus productions they had to offer or could obtain and ship to advantage.

Clause 3.—That invitations be extended to the Co-operative Wholesale Societies to associate themselves with this scheme, and to supply any information which may be mutually beneficial; same to be circulated by the Committee, or those appointed to act in such circumstances on their behalf.

Clause 4.—That, where experience indicates an article could be jointly purchased with advantage, owing to the greater purchasing power thus obtained, arrangements shall be made by the Committee to focus orders through one buyer.

Clause 5.—That a Central Bureau be organised for the collection of statistics and circulation of information and details which would assist in developing and carrying out these arrangements, and that we suggest it be established under the C.W.S. in Manchester.

The third meeting of the full committee took place on October 13th, 1920, at the Hague. The following are the dates of the meetings of the sub-committee: October 14th, 1919, in London; May 25th, 1920, Bristol; July 29th, 1920, London; October 13th, 1920, the Hague; January 12th, 1921, London.

After the meeting of the general committee at the Hague on October 13th, 1920, the next one was held at Copenhagen, on April 14th, 1921, at which the chairman (Mr. Golightly) intimated that the British Wholesale Societies were ready to begin trade at once, providing, of course, the conditions and the goods were satisfactory from a business point of view. As showing the widely representative nature of the gathering, we give herewith the names of those in attendance: Mr. R. Stewart (chairman of S.C.W.S.), Mr. J. J. Worley (Productive Federation), Dr. Fauquet and Mr. Poisson (for Mr. Cleuet), France; Mr. V. Serwy, Belgium; Messrs. Nielsen and Brask, Denmark; Madame Lenskaya (for Mr. Selheim), Russia; Mr. Timoshenko, Ukraine; Dr. Suter and Mr. Jäggi, Switzerland; Messrs. Kaufmann, Petzold, Lorenz, and Assmann, Germany; Mr. Lustig, Czecho-Slovakia; Dr. Bokor and Mr. Benyo, Hungary; Messrs. Moczulski and Winter, Poland; Mr. Pittoni, Italy; Mr. Juell, Norway; Messrs. Johansson and Hedberg, Sweden; Messrs. Gronlund, Tanner, and Stavenhagen, Finland; Mr. R. Van Sluis, Holland; and Mr. T. Brodrick, secretary, and Mr. H. Radcliffe (England).

The general committee and sub-committee next assembled in August, 1921, when meetings were held in Basle during the proceedings of the International Co-operative Alliance Congress, from the 22nd to the 25th (inclusive) of the month. Since then there has been a further gathering in London, on November 2nd, 1921, at which the question of framing the rules of the new International Co-operative Wholesale Society was discussed, also that of giving it a legal status, and will come up for further consideration at Brussels in January, 1922.

At Basle Congress.

The leading object of this article, however, is to point out what took place at the International Congress at Basle with regard to the desired promotion of international trade. First of all the importance of establishing inter-trading between one society and another throughout Europe, particularly between Wholesale Societies, was pleaded by Sir William Maxwell, the retiring president of the International Co-operative Alliance—Sir William, however, being absent owing to ill-health and advancing age. In the course of his farewell address, after many years of thought and labour devoted to the furtherance of international trade, he said:—

> The great and fascinating thought which the Alliance has cherished for many years, namely, international trading, will be discussed by you during Congress. It is to be hoped that your united wisdom may take us a step nearer the realisation of our long-cherished hopes, and take the question out of the region of probability into that of practical action.
>
> It is well to recognise that the problem is surrounded with difficulties, and not a few pitfalls, which will take time to surmount; but I am sanguine from what I know of the minds of the leaders in Europe that, whatever time it may take, the question cannot be allowed to sleep or be put aside. The ultimate and successful result of such a scheme would make the power of international co-operation for good felt throughout the commercial system of the world.

> Syndicates, combines, and companies are rapidly taking financial interest in each other's concerns in every part of the world, their hope and ambition being to exploit production and distribution all over the globe. If they can succeed by co-operating together, surely we who profess to know the benefits of co-operation cannot fail. As we grow in strength and power, depend upon it we may expect stronger and more cunning opposition to confront us, and greater difficulties to surmount, which can only be met successfully by increased intelligence and enthusiasm by everyone who desires to see international co-operation triumphant.
>
> The three essentials to start with are: Confidence in each other's honour; goodwill, accompanied by tolerance; and strong financial support from all. With these we cannot fail; without them we cannot succeed. I trust that your discussion will take us a step nearer our much-desired goal.

This portion of the presidential address, read by Mr. C. J. D. C. Goedhart, who was afterwards appointed the new president of the Alliance, was heartily approved by the 400 delegates representing about 24 countries, all of Europe, with the exception of Argentine and the United States of America.

International co-operative trade, although considered of vital interest to the restoration of devastated Europe on new economic lines, did not occupy too much of the attention of Congress. The principal discussion concerning it was based on a paper written by Herr Heinrich Kaufmann, of the German Co-operative Union, who remarked :—

> The idea of the international co-operative exchange of goods is a plant that must grow and send out shoot after shoot, until the time for flowering arrives, and it is able to bear fruit.

Other References to Trading.

The subject was referred to incidentally in connection with other matters that were placed before the delegates of many tongues. It was alluded to when M. Albert Thomas, of France, submitted his controversial paper on "The Policy of International Co-operation," in which he plainly condemned both Protection and Free Trade. He contended that as both were based on competition, they were diametrically opposed to the principle of co-operation and were not conducive to permanent peace. He preferred an application of commercial relations between the co-operative organisations of various countries to serve the general good by eliminating middlemen's profits, and to lay a strong foundation for a world economic system in which the spirit of strife and competition would have no place. The delegates, however, were not inclined to begin a system of international trade by relinquishing their faith, either in Protection or Free Trade. These were eventually omitted from Mr. Thomas' suggested policy of international co-operation.

International trade was again alluded to when Mrs. Barton (England) moved an amended resolution of the English Women's Co-operative Guild, which noted with satisfaction the steps already taken to set on foot international co-operative trade, and recorded its opinion that the extension of trade through the machinery of the co-operative movement was of vital importance to the recovery of Europe from the grave economic difficulties caused by the war. The

resolution, which was lengthy, pleaded for the establishment of an international clearing house whose functions it should be to stimulate the exchange of goods between nations, and desired to know how far the suggested scheme for international credits might be utilised to promote international trade through co-operative channels.

The British Position.

The motion which was eventually adopted, led Mr. Golightly (director of the English C.W.S., and chairman of the Committee of Co-operative Wholesale Societies) to state the attitude of the English C.W.S. towards international trade. As this is of importance to present and future deliberations on this matter, we reproduce his remarks. He said :—

So far as we in England are concerned, we raise no objection to this resolution. There is a part of the resolution from which it would appear that there is an idea that all has not been done that might have been done. We are asked to remove any Government obstacles to international trade. So far as the British Government is concerned, it raises no obstacles, but supports the ter Meulen Credit scheme, which will be of assistance to co-operative societies in the promotion of international trade. Let me say that our house in Balloon Street is in order. We have started what we were asked to start, an export department. We got our house ready, and we are able to begin trade at any time, and we are endeavouring to get on with the business. We have a special man devoting his time to this matter, and a special department for dealing with the business. There is another point which seems to be misunderstood. It has been suggested that we are dealing only with co-operatively produced goods. Nothing of the kind. We sell everything at Balloon Street. We sometimes get chided by the women, who say we ought to sell only co-operatively produced goods ; but we are prepared to sell anything which will promote international trade on sound lines. There is a suggestion about a clearing house, but for the present we are able to deal with international trade without the establishment of this expensive clearing house. We get on as fast as we can. We also do our best in banking. It may not be known to the Congress that we have just concluded the first international transaction of this kind, having made arrangements with Andelsbank in Copenhagen, by which we shall be able to pass on our accounts through this co-operative financial house in connection with any business we do in Denmark. We shall be able to carry out a thorough credit system with Denmark co-operators through this agency. It is assumed by the movers of the resolution that the C.W.S. directors have done nothing. In fact, we have been told that we are not getting on. The C.W.S. directors in England, however, have gone just as far as they can go with regard to the establishment of credit. Altogether, we have now credits amounting to £800,000 with continental societies, including £64,000 in Russia, £82,000 in Antwerp, £132,000 with the Polish Federation, £158,000 with the Polish Union, and £400,000 with the Rumanian Co-operative Federation. Representatives of the C.W.S. are now in these countries trying to get paid for the goods which we have supplied. We feel, therefore, that we are successfully trying to establish international trade. I am quite as earnest in my endeavours as any other co-operator in England or elsewhere, but there are difficulties in the way. There are many obstacles with which we have to contend. We went to Finland, for instance, to buy timber, but found that we could not buy the timber we wanted in Finland. We have tried experts in Switzerland with the object of buying clocks and watches, but we have found that the Swiss co-operators do not command a position in the market to secure them for us. I urge that you should encourage co-operators in every country, and put them in the same position as we are in in England. In that way we can attain the position when we can go and buy everything that is necessary for co-operative trade, and for societies in all countries.

The necessity of a reliable credit scheme as an aid to international trade, co-operative and otherwise, was explained to Congress by Lieut.-Colonel G. Schuster, of the International Credits Section of the League of Nations. He urged co-operators to make use of the ter Meulen Scheme, which, we may repeat, is dealt with by Sir D. Drummond Fraser in another part of this volume. We need not dwell upon it here, but pass on to the proposals of Heinrich Kaufmann.

Education, Propaganda, or Trade ?

The object of Herr Kaufmann was for the establishment of an International Union of Wholesale Societies. After giving an exposition of the character of co-operative unions and wholesales in different countries, he arrived at the conclusion that the Basle Congress should resolve to advise the various Wholesale Societies, directly or indirectly affiliated to the Alliance, to establish a special International Union of Co-operative Wholesale Societies, as an ordinary co-operative society, registered in England, which shall be brought in organic relations with the existing International Co-operative Alliance. He explained how this should be controlled by a joint committee which would include three members of the Central Committee of the Alliance. At the conclusion of the paper detailing his scheme, he moved the following resolution :—

> This International Congress of representatives from all the countries comprised in the International Co-operative Alliance agrees with the principles as laid down in the paper submitted by Herr Kaufmann for the establishment of an International Co-operative Wholesale Society and its relations to the International Co-operative Alliance, and notes with satisfaction the efforts already made to form such an organisation. It therefore pledges itself to do all in its power to further promote these proposals, and refers them to the Committee of the National Wholesale Societies.

Very strong objection indeed was taken by the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies to the proposal to give the Alliance, at this stage of the development of international trade, any direct control in the International Wholesale Society. Their desire was that the educational and business sides of internationalism should be kept apart for the present, in order to maintain the Wholesale Society as a strict business body, clearly unhampered by considerations other than trade. In fact, rather than accept the proposition to set up inter-representation between the two authorities, the English and Scottish Societies were prepared to withdraw from the International Wholesale Society, an act which would have rendered the Society impotent, if not impossible.

Herr Kaufmann realising the difficulty of the situation, agreed to withdraw the words in his resolution reading, " and its relations to the International Co-operative Alliance," and thus leave his proposal for the formation of an independent International Co-operative Wholesale Society. This was accepted, after Mr. Golightly had stated that the Wholesale organisations in Britain had been pushed ahead by keeping the trade apart from propaganda and education. It was mainly by keeping to this principle that wholesale co-operative development in

Britain had attained such gigantic proportions. Contrary to this, most societies on the Continent deem it wise, as Herr Kaufmann remarked, to have organic collaboration between the Unions and the Wholesales.

Britain's Great Resources.

We have only to point out now how well equipped the two British Wholesale Societies are for promoting international trading with actual co-operative productions. If other wholesale societies could be brought to the same level of co-operative manufacturing and merchanting resources, international trade could be spoken of with much more hope and encouragement. To give a mere list of goods produced by the two British organisations would take up several pages of this volume. We would recommend our continental readers to obtain a copy of the booklet, "The Growth of the C.W.S.," issued by the Publicity Department of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited, 1, Balloon Street, Manchester.

The operations of the C.W.S. alone embrace depôts in several European countries, tea plantations in India and Ceylon, offices and estates in British West Africa, business arrangements for produce in Australia and New Zealand, trading centres in the United States and Canada. There are C.W.S. fields, factories, and workshops, also great business centres and salerooms in all parts of England and Wales. The Scottish C.W.S. can make a similar claim in Scotland. The trade of the English C.W.S. in 1920 was over £105,000,000, including supplies from its own productive works amounting to £33,000,000. It owns the following places for production :—

Flour and Provender mills	11	Tobacco factory	1	Brush works	1
Biscuit factories	2	Cotton mills	3	Soap works	3
Butter blending	3	Woollen mills	7	Paint works	1
Margarine factory	1	Hosiery mill	1	Saddlery	5
Lard refineries	2	Rope-making works	1	Leather Bags	1
Bacon factories	4	Clothing and Underclothing	11	Picture-framing	1
Preserve manufactories	4	Boot and Shoe works	8	Printing works	5
Pickle manufactories	2	Tanneries	3	Oil mills	1
Vinegar breweries	2	Furniture manufactories	4	Saw mills	2
Tea blending warehouses	2	Iron and Tin works	3	Pottery—China and earthenware	4
Cocoa and Chocolate factory	1	Cutlery works	1	Glass works	1
Drugs and Chemicals	2	Cycle works	1	Motor Vehicle works	1
		Scales and weighing machines	1	Colliery	1

To these 108 factories in England and Wales, should be added 34,000 acres of agricultural land, and about 12 dairies for the supply of milk and cheese. Hence, the English C.W.S., and it may be added, the Scottish C.W.S., which has its own huge and varied factories and workshops, have erected a great foundation for production on which international trade may be well and truly laid. What are wanted now are international capital and trading machinery.

SALES OF EUROPEAN CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES.

With regard to the following table the following points should be noted :—

1. That the figures for the Continental Wholesales have been calculated on the basis of par values.

2. That the later figures represent inflated prices throughout the list as compared with the figures for 1914.

3. That the figures since 1914 indicate also different degrees of price inflation as between the different countries in which the Wholesales are situated.

Wholesales.	1920.	1919.	1918.	1914.
	£	£	£	£
C.W.S., Manchester	105,439,628	89,349,318	65,167,960	34,910,813
S.C.W.S., Glasgow	29,549,314	24,789,040	19,519,485	9,425,383
I.A.W.S., Dublin	1,671,116	1,318,806	914,242	268,385
G.E.G., Hamburg	67,561,219	17,634,903	5,225,048	7,876,202
F.D.B., Copenhagen	11,297,534	7,284,827	4,113,533	3,866,046
V.S.K., Basle	6,881,146	5,657,673	5,118,790	1,828,683
Hangya, Buda-Pesth	57,500,000	8,741,963	5,282,297	1,259,121
Centro-Soyuz, Moscow	—*	—	98,363,000	1,088,737
G. ö. C., Vienna	84,527,118	20,268,431	6,128,239	1,072,000
S.O.K., Helsingfors	12,947,978	8,199,436	4,308,633	971,440
O.T.K., Helsingfors	3,953,510	2,250,626	—	—
K.F., Stockholm	3,862,216	3,841,646	1,554,985	549,403
Handelskamer, Rotterdam	1,169,012	802,118	662,027	397,284
M. d. G., Paris	6,637,215	4,856,254	2,308,420	†480,000
Z.P.S.S., Warsaw	25,068,529	5,672,204	568,806	179,190
N.K.L., Christiania	1,004,255	670,186	328,770	172,055
V.S.K.D., Prague	36,466,109	12,093,102	1,550,264	134,934
German Union's Wholesale, Prague	16,810,568	5,666,000	—	—
F.C.B., Antwerp	2,069,932	604,487	80,000	216,000
C.I.C.E.G., Milan	—	834,000	363,168	56,896

* The turnover for 1920 was expected to reach 8 milliards of roubles.
† The figure for 1913.

LEADING EUROPEAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The following list (comprising most of the main Distributive Societies belonging to the Co-operative Unions in Europe) shows the membership and sales for 1920. The sales figures of the foreign societies are the British equivalents computed on the basis of the par (or nominal) values of currencies.

Country.	Society.	Town.	Society's membership.	Society's trading turnover.
England*	Leeds Industrial	Leeds	92,912	£5,015,480
Scotland	St. Cuthbert's	Edinburgh	61,413	4,760,044
Ireland	Belfast Co-operative Society	Belfast	24,800	1,331,744
Austria	Konsumgenossenschaft Wien	Vienna	140,541	†29,166,666
Belgium	L'Union Cooperative de Liége	Liége	—	—
Czecho-Slovakia	Arbeiter Konsumverein "Solidaritat"	Brünn	40,976	3,598,929
Denmark	Consumers Society	Copengagen	—	—
Finland	Elanto	Helsingfors	28,403	4,219,788
France	L'Union des Coopérateurs	Paris	64,277	3,144,499
Germany	Konsum-Bau-und Sparverein "Produktion"	Hamburg	120,724	‡15,415,044
Holland	De Volharding	The Hague	12,300	256,759
Italy	Unione Cooperative	Milan	44,000	4,389,317
Switzerland	Allgemeiner Consumverein	Basle	40,869	2,342,052

* As a result of recent amalgamations the London Co-operative Society with 120,000 members and approximately £4,000,000 in sales in the middle of 1921 now comes first in point of membership, but as yet second in turnover.
† 700,000,000 kronen.
‡ 308,300,894 marks.

A. W. GOLIGHTLY.

Chairman of the Committee of Co-operative Wholesale Societies.

PROF. V. TOTOMIANZ.
A well-known Figure in International Co-operation.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND CO-OPERATION.

By Professor V. Totomianz.

THE great economists of the classical school, namely, the Englishmen, Adam Smith and David Ricardo, and the Frenchmen, J. B. Say and F. Bastiat, were partisans of Free Trade and regarded the world, from the international point of view, as a large workshop with a perfect division of labour ; that is, as an international workshop in which each nation undertakes that species of labour for which it is most fitted.

Such a cosmopolitan view of the world as striving for the peaceful conjoint work of all nations was naturally opposed to any restrictive customs barriers, and Bastiat expressed his great surprise at the fact that the same people who, for the sake of bringing humanity together, have spent great sums of money on digging tunnels, have also, by establishing customs boundaries, impeded the bringing together of people more than the highest mountains could ever do.

The epoch of Free Trade, which to a considerable extent predominated not only in England but also in Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, was at the same time a period of cheapness of living and of greater prosperity than in those European States which pursued the policy of Protection. Even the most Protectionist governments strove before the recent war to modify their Protectionism by means of trade covenants for long terms.

The Aftermath of the War.

Unfortunately, the terrible war and the destruction of industry in some countries and the industrial crisis in others, have, if only temporarily, put a stop to the Free Trade movement. At the present time, we have again entered into the path of Protectionism and even of Mercantilism, which in the Middle Ages served sometimes as a cause of war.

The re-birth of the protective, mercantile policy may be explained not only by the bad position of industry, but also by the difficult financial position of the old and newly-formed governments.

The new governments have inherited from their predecessors not only national freedom, but also their debts, for the extinction of which they are obliged to recur to contributions and to the mercantile policy.

Another circumstance that has augmented the burden not only of the new, but of many an old government, has been the great increase of the bureaucratic staff and the maintenance of new armies, necessary for the protection of the new and not quite fixed boundaries of these States.

However afflicting it may be, this rise in bureaucracy and maintenance of armies is dictated by the sense of self-preservation and by a tendency to give some occupation to the multitudes of unemployed, caused by the war and the industrial crisis. The unemployed question becomes a great danger to governmental order; it is mostly from the ranks of the unemployed that the so-called Italian Fascisti are enrolled.

Ancient Rome experienced most violent commotions after the armies were broken up. War was not only a means of keeping order in the interior of the country, but also a means of providing occupation and of earning a livelihood.

The maintenance of the Bolshevist army, nowadays, can also be partly explained by the necessity of finding nourishment for the soldiers. Militarism has now become a profession to a greater extent than it was before the last war.

All this is a great hindrance to the development of International trading relations, the principal conditions of which are peace and ample freedom of movement for merchandise and men, together with an intensified production of commodities, and more especially of agricultural produce.

Meanwhile, the peasants, torn from their ordinary course of life by the last war, have invaded towns and occupied themselves with various unproductive occupations, such as trading, serving, &c. Even in the United States of North America, where the conditions of agricultural work are most favourable, according to the last statistical data, the number of the town population has surpassed that of the rural one for the first time. Such an increase of urban population portends innumerable disasters, and signifies, in the first place, a reduced agricultural production, and as a consequence an increased cost of living.

It is only in Denmark (and perhaps in France and Italy) that the number of persons occupied in rural avocations has not decreased, owing partly to the practice of co-operation.

As regards Russia, a great diminution of population in the principal towns, through famine, is noted. The peasants are unwilling to deliver their produce to the town's people, who have nothing of value to give in exchange. Under the influence of famine a great many intellectual workers have deserted the towns and have undertaken market gardening, on co-operative or individual lines.

The Task of Governments.

Amidst these difficult conditions, it is now a question as to what measures have to be taken by governments; and to this question the following answer may be given: Governments must not be carried

away by industrial and commercial activity but must develop their work of instructing the population.

The unemployed may find work not in the industrial and commercial professions, which are already overcrowded and depressed by the crisis, but in the avocation of agriculture, which is the most healthy and at the present time the most profitable occupation. Therefore, all the governments should, by all means, encourage agricultural work, and provide not only the necessary soil for agricultural labour, but also introduce agricultural instruction for children and adults, as well as lecture courses on co-operation, for young people. Instead of entering on military service, young men should be gradually drawn into obligatory agricultural service during the summer months.

In Russia, during the first years of war, harvesting, in many places, was conducted by co-operative bodies formed of students of middle and higher schools. Such temporary or permanent co-operative societies could, in a great measure, help to draw into closer relationship the town and rural population and popularise agricultural work. The closer relationship between town and village is also necessary, in order to further the development of exchange within each country and between the nations as well. When the town stops drawing solely from the village and will give in exchange not simply manufactured goods, but also labour power, living will certainly become cheaper.

The industry of this or that country may rely upon a large exportation only on condition of the cheapness of the primary necessaries of life, which means a low expenditure in production. Generally speaking, where living is cheap and workmen less exacting, there the industry may rely on a greater export.

Conditions of Industrial and Commercial Development.

Before the war, Germany was successful in competing with England and the United States of America, through the prices of German manufactured goods being much lower. At present, German commodities continue to be the cheapest on the market for foreign customers, mostly in consequence of the fall of the currency value. Thus we have come to the conclusion, that in order to develop industry and commerce, it is necessary, first of all, to aspire to freedom and peace; and, secondly, to develop agriculture and co-operation. In addition, we have to take into consideration the fact that the capitalistic system of wages has to be gradually replaced by the participation of the workers and the employees in the profits and by a system of co-partnership.

The course of International Trade will be greatly facilitated by the creation at first of several federations, and afterwards of one single European Federation. The example of Switzerland shows

how three different nations, i.e., German, French, and Italian, can live in good fellowship within the boundaries even of such a small State.

Now, we are going to examine what part can be played by co-operation, firstly, in the development of commercial interchange between town and country; and, secondly, in the progress of the international exchange of commodities.

As Regards the Development of International Co-operative Trade.

It is certainly difficult to foretell the future of Co-operation in this respect, but it would be incorrect to under-estimate the importance of agricultural co-operation on the one hand, and the great projects concerning International Trade by co-operative Societies on the other. As regards this question, the idealists and dreamers have turned out to be more on the right track than the sceptics and critics. Even Mrs. Beatrice Webb was wrong in manifesting (in her well-known book) doubts concerning International Co-operative Trade. Such a trade has existed and still exists among countries such as England, Denmark, Russia, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy. In the Scandinavian countries, it has taken a more brilliant and organised form—that of the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

Thus the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and Finlanders have already a joint co-operative trading organisation for these four nations and States.

The task of the near future will be the creation of a Co-operative Wholesale Society for the whole of Europe.

Meanwhile, there should be founded a permanent exhibition of commodities of co-operative production throughout the whole world; the majority of the National Co-operative Congresses have to be made use of for this purpose.

Unfortunately, no such exhibition was founded at the International Co-operative Congress, recently held at Basle, though the German Co-operative Societies did address a demand to this effect.

At this Basle Congress, a representative of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society complained that to their query, from Manchester, addressed to the Swiss Union of Co-operative Societies, as to whether it was possible to buy watches through the Union (V.S.K.), a negative answer was given, viz., "The Union has no specialists in this line."

If the great English Co-operative Wholesale Society cannot obtain information about goods wanted, then the different productive societies will find still greater difficulty in getting this information. Receiving no assistance from the co-operative organisations, the productive co-operative societies are frequently obliged to recur to private persons, a mode of procedure which, as a rule, cannot be recommended.

The author of this article received, some ten years ago, in Moscow, a request from the Italian Federation to find buyers in Russia for hats manufactured from willow-tree chips. Now, owing to the dearness of straw hats, a great market could be found outside Italy for these hats.

At the present time Italy occupies the premier position in Western Europe in regard to the number of productive co-operative societies. Owing to the comparatively low prices of their produce, the foreign Unions of Co-operative Stores could really become their customers. Up to now, there have been examples of orders for co-operative produce for abroad and vice versâ. For instance, the Co-operative Stores of Genoa have exported macaronies of their own manufacture to the Consumers' Stores in Holland, and the Co-operative Society "Unione Militare," in Rome, has sold tea supplied by the English Co-operative Wholesale Society.

Before the war, still more examples could be found of the international co-operative exchange of commodities, yet it bore a more or less occasional and quite an unorganised character.

The only example of international co-operative trading on a large scale was the purchasing of products from the Agricultural Co-operative Produce Society of Denmark by the English Co-operative Wholesale Society.

In general, particular attention has to be drawn to the agricultural co-operative produce societies. There is by far not enough agricultural produce for the co-operative stores and their Unions.

As Regards the Development of Co-operative Trade between Town and Country.

A relationship between the town co-operative stores and their Unions, and the agricultural productive co-operative societies in different countries should be established without delay.

The organised town consumers must find some compromise to reconcile them with the egoism of the organised agricultural producers; in fact, the organised agricultural producers are no more egoistical than the organised town producers, *i.e.*, workmen. The latter with their strikes are merciless, even to their own co-operative organisations. Trades unions very often turn out to be as egoistical as many of the Co-operative Agricultural Societies. There is only one difference, viz., that the former are always aspiring to raise wages, sometimes to the detriment of production itself, whereas the latter aspire only to better the prices of their commodities without stopping their production.

As far back as the year 1828, the English co-operator, Dr. William King, wrote that if the trades unionists spent all the money which

had been expended on strikes on co-operative production of their own, the workmen would have been quite independent.

Now after this terrible war, the moment has arrived when the trades unions should occupy themselves seriously with Co-operation. This should be done, nevertheless, not by entering into trade on their own account, as has, unfortunately, been done by some of the trades unions in Germany, Italy, and America, but in the form of investing money in consumers' societies and their Unions. The trades unions should also maintain the old productive co-operative societies and found, where possible, new ones, not only in the domain of manufacture but also in the domain of agriculture.

The English Federation of Productive Co-operative Societies, founded on the principle of Co-partnership, presents a good example of co-operative production. Its produce, especially boots, could have found a good market abroad.

I vividly recollect the great success of the English and Scotch Co-operative goods that I took over to Russia in the year 1911 (especially soap, biscuits, and shoe-blacking).

Russia could furnish and purchase even more from the co-operative societies of England. Notwithstanding the terrible famine in European Russia, there are regions in Asiatic Russia, and particularly in Siberia, where corn, butter, meat and other agricultural produce abound.

Fish in the rivers and seas, not only in Asiatic, but also in European Russia, has become even more abundant now than before, owing to the scarcity of fishing equipment and the reduction of fishing.

It is a well-known fact that in Russian rivers and seas, particularly in the Caspian Sea and its affluents, fish is caught and caviar is obtained such as can be got nowhere else. Some of the huge specimens of boneless fish have, as yet, been given no name in Western Europe.

The Central Union of Co-operative Societies of Russia has fisheries at Astrakhan, where the Volga flows into the Caspian Sea.

Were there a better communication, the Central Union could supply European Co-operative Societies with conserved fish and caviar.

In conclusion, we may add, that the principal part in the creation of an International Co-operative trading organisation belongs to the Co-operative Wholesale Societies of England and Scotland; but the International Co-operative Alliance could do a great deal in this connection. Had the Alliance possessed larger means, it could have had three or four secretaries for the countries in which English and German, the Romance and the Slavonic languages are spoken, instead of the one secretary it now possesses. It could also have created a new occupation, that of the travelling-agent, who would have travelled all over the world in order to investigate the conditions of International Trade and Co-operative Exchange.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADE AND HOW TO ESTABLISH IT.

By Victor Serwy

(*Director of the Belgian Co-operative Union*).

THE establishment of international co-operative trading relations is directly related to the degree of co-operative development in each country. The more co-operative power a people has acquired, the more closely it has grouped its societies around the Wholesale purchasing organ, the further it has advanced in the domain of production, and the better qualified it will be to enter into international trading relations. The increase of purchasing power of each Co-operative Wholesale by a greater loyalty of co-operative societies is the basis of all organisation of international co-operative trade.

At first sight it would appear that Great Britain alone occupies this position, for nearly all the British distributive societies are affiliated to their respective Wholesales in Manchester and Glasgow, and the centralised production already constitutes a considerable achievement. Great Britain, moreover, is an importer of raw materials.

Distributive Co-operation in Belgium.

The development of distributive co-operation in Belgium, however, is far from comparable with that of our British friends. In Belgium the chief branch of co-operative productive activity is baking, the output of which in 1920-21 amounted in value to over 150 million francs, whilst the consumption of flour in this connection amounted to 3,000 sacks per day. It would thus require a very large flour mill to supply our bakeries with flour. And here a question arises. If the mill were to be established we should require corn. Belgium, as a matter of fact, consumes corn from Kansas, Hand Winter, Australia, and Manitoba. Will it then be possible to obtain corn from Canada and elsewhere through our friends of the English Wholesale who purchase in quantities for their series of corn mills ?

Belgian Co-operative Productive Undertakings.

As regards co-operative production, it may be stated that we have a weaving and a cotton spinning mill, a flax field, a syrup manufactory, and shortly a chocolate manufactory, a glass goblet manufactory, a society producing garden seeds, two hosiery manufactories, a chicory manufactory, a soft soap works, iron foundries, and a manufactory of basket wares, besides eleven printing establishments. For the greater part of these undertakings the raw materials are easily purchasable in Belgium itself. Cotton, flax, and cocoa are the only raw materials which, being derived from outside, would have to be bought from foreign countries. Is it possible to arrange for the joint purchase of these particular raw products ?

Possible Exports.

Even these particular raw products, however, we obtain in the important markets of Ghent, Courtrai, and Antwerp. As regards

finished products, Belgium is a producer before everything else. She could export her hosiery to Holland, some of her fabrics to England and Switzerland, her glass wares and her basket work to Great Britain, and her cutlery to Holland and Switzerland. Such are the possibilities as regards the exportation of commodities of co-operative origin.

Before the war England imported Belgian refined sugar. Why should she not arrange with the Federation of Belgian Co-operative Societies to supply herself henceforth from the same source, if conditions would permit? Switzerland obtains supplies of coffee, and of rice also at times, in the Belgian market. Why should not the Co-operative Wholesale at Antwerp be authorised to undertake these supplies? The question of exchange is not an obstacle here.

Belgian Co-operative Requirements.

Before 1914 the Co-operative Wholesale at Antwerp supplied seeds to the Lens branch of the French Co-operative Wholesale. As for co-operative Belgium it requires olive oil, sardines, French wines, and Emmenthal cheese from Switzerland; and from the English Wholesale it can buy exotic fruits—oranges, sultana raisins, currants, tea, Indian hard soaps, certain woollen fabrics and manufactured products, and perhaps also a great number of foodstuffs that England imports from her colonies, &c.

The First Stage of International Co-operative Trade.

Yet it is by way of trading relations between Co-operative Wholesale and Co-operative Wholesale that the first stage of international co-operative trade can be accomplished. It is requisite, therefore, that each movement, when it buys from abroad, shall endeavour to give the preference to the Wholesale of the country from which the merchandise comes. Our directors of Wholesales possess great authority, commanding authority, but are they convinced of the advantage to be obtained by buying at the fountain head? We have no hesitation in declaring that the future of international co-operation is proportionate to the breadth of vision of the administrative boards of the Co-operative Wholesales.

The Congress at Basle has accepted the principle of establishing a Union of Wholesales, and this is a first step towards the International Wholesale. The international purchasing bureau at Manchester should be improved and consolidated by this new Union. In our opinion, the entrepôts possessed by the British Wholesales abroad (including those of the C.W.S. in Spain, the United States, Denmark, &c.) should be gradually "denationalised" in order to be co-operatively internationalised—that is to say, so as to enable them to answer the purpose of all the Wholesales. There lies a whole mass of sources of production which can serve both Great Britain and all the co-operative countries. We believe that in this way the International Wholesale can be most firmly established. Great Britain possesses the most advanced and best established co-operative organisation, and it is on this basis that the co-operative organisation of to-morrow ought to be built.

THE POSSIBILITY OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE TRADE.

By Emil Lustig,

Chairman of the Board of Management of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, Prague.

THE possibility of international co-operative trade is a question which has been discussed at several meetings of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance, and it has been submitted to the decision of the International Co-operative Congress in Basle that an International Union of the National Co-operative Societies should be founded.

This matter was for many years one of the principal aims of our co-operative propaganda meetings, and also of our co-operative press. It was proved that a single co-operative society would have no importance as regards the economical uplifting of the working classes if it did not belong to its co-operative wholesale society ; and further, that the co-operative wholesale societies themselves would have only a national importance until an international union of the purchasing power of the working classes is founded. This shows that the people organised in our co-operative societies are well acquainted with this idea ; and it is just this point of the economic union of the working classes through co-operation which fascinates the indifferent classes, which see just in this economic union in co-operation all that which has been our endeavour for several years, namely, to turn the attention of members of co-operative societies from mere shopkeeping to the larger aims and potentialities of co-operation.

Importance of International Organisation.

We see that the International Union could acquire, through the development of the national unions, great importance for the consumers and for production ; for the consumers are those of all nations, and are subject to the economic conditions (good or bad) of their respective countries, especially now, after the war, when the exchange of goods is carried on by the commercialists of the world on a capitalistic basis. Now we can only say that the working classes of all countries live in a state of economic insecurity, that is to say, they are in a bad position.

Each country has some articles for export and endeavours to exploit other countries in the matter of price ; and so, under the dominion of the capitalists, we find ourselves in a vicious circle from which it is impossible to escape within a measurable space of time.

We hope to initiate an amelioration of intercourse in general through co-operative intercourse in the best sense ; the more that true

fraternity would be promoted by the economical rapprochement of the nations. The politicians preach the fraternisation of peoples and nations, but we see that these words are mere theory when the peoples are combating one with another in their economic relations, and that when commercial contracts are to be made countries strive to make profit at the expense of each other. In this way strife is continually produced, and there can be no peace in the world.

The opinion of the Czecho-Slovak co-operative movement is that the co-operative societies of all nations have to fight for free trade, whereby a basis could be found for the co-operative exchange of goods. At the present time there are stoppages in all countries through the prohibition of exports and imports, and through protective duties and different export and import premiums, which also constitute impediments to the co-operative exchange of commodities.

Possibilities of Exports.

We especially have a young, although extended, organisation of production, which is co-ordinated in the Co-operative Wholesale Society and in the Union of Co-operative Societies of Production. The Czecho-Slovak co-operative societies of production produce no fewer than thirty-five different articles, a great part of which could be exported. It is possible to export shoes, ready-made clothes, linen, hollow glass, ordinary and cut glass, glass rings for India, chicory, baskets, and basket-work commodities, in which articles foreign co-operative societies might be interested.

There is also the question of the rate of exchange, which continually fluctuates—especially in the States of Central Europe—and which constitutes a difficulty between the various co-operative organisations, and renders a constant exchange of goods or export impossible. This circumstance is also a cause of the crises which occur from time to time in our production.

Our country is a factor in the production of sugar, but co-operation has no influence in this direction because this branch of production is in the hands of great capitalists and banks, as a result of which the home consumers are subjected to the dictates of the producers of sugar beets and sugar.

In consideration of actual dealing we should find it of benefit if the International Organisation of the Co-operative Societies would inaugurate the organisation of production and thereby place a limit to the capitalistic organisation of the world's production, as it at present exists. The same organisation would also deal with the products imported from the colonies.

The Organisation of Trade.

If the world organisation of co-operation is to have any importance we cannot limit it to trading on exchanges which already exist, but

we must form an organisation which would give us the same advantages as other organisations have by means of the purchase of merchandise, and thus the organisation would have to be in direct contact with the original producers.

If we should organise the trade in coffee which is of importance to all co-operative societies, our organisation would have to send out its representatives to Brazil, to buy coffee direct from the Brazilian producers, and to divide it into different sorts and thus prepare it for the home market, just as the coffee merchants do.

Proceeding in this manner it would be possible to bring all other articles within the trading operations of the organisation and to supply the National Co-operative Wholesales with all that they require from the international organisation.

We should be very glad if the International Organisation of the Co-operative Wholesale Societies would devote its attention, at first, to one article only, in which we could then make ourselves independent of the capitalistic trade. This achievement would be the basis for the future development of our International Organisation for the exchange of goods.

Up to the present time we have been obliged to submit to the trend of speculation on the world markets, which is the reverse of advantageous to co-operative trade.

The Organisation of Production.

I have said that it is necessary to begin the organisation of production, and I have proclaimed at the meetings of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance that if the co-operative movement desires to protect its members from constant capitalistic attacks, it must act in the same manner as capitalism, which has collected into a few hands the world's production of soap and artificial fats. The co-operative control of the market of a country is in relation to the world market, only possible when there is close economic union in the co-operative movement. We see that it is solely the economic power of the world's capitalism which oppresses the consumers ; and a co-operative organisation has only a national importance and is devoid of influence on the international market unless a co-operative world-power is formed to resist the world-power of capitalism.

THE PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE DANISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

THE more diversified the community becomes, the farther apart become the two factors—production and consumption. By the introduction of the co-operative distributing societies it has been attempted to remedy this widening, thereby saving the retail profit; and by the establishment of joint purchasing centrals for the co-operative distributing societies (as for instance the Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society) wholesale profit is likewise saved, by which saving the consumers benefit.

Productive Undertakings.

It was at a very early period of its history that the management of the Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society became alive to the importance of undertaking production, with the result that a number of factories and industrial concerns have been established, and at a constantly increasing pace.

The Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society now possesses the following productive establishments :—

1. *For Food and Delicacies.*—A coffee roasting establishment, a cocoa and chocolate factory, a factory for candies and confectioneries, a margarine factory, a mustard mill, a tea packing establishment, a spice mill and spice-packing establishment, a cigar and tobacco factory, together with a wine branch.

2. *For articles of Clothing and Ready-made Dresses.*—A textile factory, a factory for ready-made clothing for men and women, and also a boot and shoe factory and a tannery.

3. *For Various Purposes.*—A cycle factory, a soap factory, a technical chemical factory, and a rope and cordage factory.

In order to elucidate the economic importance of these different branches of activity, we subjoin the following table showing the turnover for the last dozen years :—

1898	198,294 kroner	1910....	4,791,119 kroner
1900	431,581 „	1915....	15,864,002 „
1905	1,844,209 „	1920....	41,882,214 „

Productive Development.

The first productive undertaking (if this expression may be used) was a coffee-roasting establishment which was established at Kolding in 1897, and fitted out with all modern improvements. In the course of time roasted coffee has become such an important article that 5,500 kilos are roasted daily, and several times it has been necessary to undertake considerable extensions in the establishment. In 1900 a chocolate factory was erected which has likewise been subsequently extended and entirely altered. The output of the factory reached

683,000 kilos in 1920. Finally in 1901 a factory for the production of candies and confectioneries was established and equipped. This factory also has been progressing rapidly, and now about 570,000 kilos of confectioneries and candies of various kinds are manufactured annually. These three factories at Kolding employ altogether 215 workpeople. Furthermore, a cigar and tobacco factory at Esbjerg was bought in 1902. This rather small and modest factory was rebuilt, and as a result of the extensions made in 1910 and 1914 it is now one of the largest and best-equipped tobacco factories in the country. The outcome of these very encouraging results was that in 1906 further attempts at an extended production were made, and at Viby (Jutland) a large site was acquired on which an up-to-date rope-making establishment and a factory for the making of soft and toilet soap, and chemical technical articles, were erected in 1908. As the period, from an economic point of view, was favourable, and as there was a growing desire for a co-operative margarine factory, a thoroughly modern and excellently-equipped margarine factory was built in 1913, which since then has been in a very rapid state of development, and the products of which are second to none in the margarine industry. The fact that more than 6 million kilos of margarine were manufactured and supplied to the local co-operative societies in the year 1920 proves better than anything else the excellent quality of the product.

In 1902 a spice mill and spice-packing establishment was fitted up at the Aarhus branch, with results shown by the present turnover exceeding one million kroner annually ; and a tea importation branch and tea-packing establishment was started in 1900 in Copenhagen ; these two establishments can only be termed manufacturing undertakings in the broad sense of the term. The not inconsiderable wine branch in Copenhagen comes within the same category as the two preceding concerns. After having dealt in cycles for a number of years, *i.e.*, from 1901, it was decided to establish a special cycle factory, and since 1915/16 the Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society has been manufacturing no inconsiderable portion of the cycles that are used by the country population. Altogether about 4,000 cycles are now manufactured annually, and in the course of 1920 the sale of motor cycles has also been commenced by the Society.

In close touch with the dry goods branch in Copenhagen a textile factory was started in Copenhagen in 1906, and in 1911 a factory for ladies' and men's ready-made clothing was also established. The development of this branch's activities and of the interest of the members of the wholesale society therein is shown by the staff of employees now numbering 150, and also by the turnover in textile and ready-made clothes, which in 1920 amounted to 777,000 kroner, and 4,320,000 kroner, respectively.

The expansion of the Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society's productive works, as expressed in kroner, is shown in the subjoined table :—

Description.	1898	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
	Kroner					
The Coffee-roasting Establishment	198,000	406,000	1,067,000	1,775,000	2,895,000	6,200,000
The Chocolate Factory	—	60,000	247,000	435,000	788,000	2,565,000
Candies and Confectioneries	—	—	109,000	218,000	358,000	1,384,000
The Tobacco Factory	—	—	223,000	572,000	962,000	2,361,000
The Soap Factory	—	—	—	808,000	1,114,000	2,908,000
The Ropery	—	—	—	336,000	584,000	1,520,000
Mustard	—	—	—	—	68,000	166,000
Technical-chemical Factory	—	—	—	201,000	228,000	516,000
Margarine Factory	—	—	—	—	6,124,000	17,630,000
Textile Factory	—	—	—	92,000	164,000	777,000
Tea Branch	—	19,000	80,000	139,000	167,000	243,000
The Spice Branch	—	—	116,000	231,000	415,000	1,177,000
The Wine Branch	—	—	—	—	598,000	1,227,000
The Cycle Branch	—	—	—	—	323,000	1,189,000

As the last, but by no means the least important establishments, should be mentioned the large boot and shoe factory in Copenhagen, and the tannery at Roskilde. The boot and shoe factory, which covers altogether 1,970 square metres, has recently commenced its activities, and has a productive capacity ranging up to 1,000 pair of boots daily. The tannery at Roskilde was started at the same time as the boot and shoe factory. It is fitted up in accordance with the newest and best technical methods, and it may be anticipated that this branch of the multifarious activities of the Society, like its other undertakings, will mean a considerable saving to the Society and its members.

The Growth of Output.

As will be seen from the above table the turnover has been rapidly increasing, but naturally the rise in prices during the war has been instrumental therein. With respect to output there is also an increase from year to year within most branches. Subjoined are the figures of output (expressed in kilos) as regards some of the most important articles produced by the Society :—

	1898	1900	1910	1915	1919	1920
	Kilos.					
Roasted Coffee	121,000	246,000	1,013,000	1,623,000	1,500,000	1,635,000
Chocolate and Cocoa	—	89,000	503,000	452,000	672,000	684,000
Candies and Confectioneries	—	75,000	375,000	639,000	499,000	572,000
Tobacco	—	98,000	220,000	291,000	182,000	237,000
Margarine	—	—	3,000,000	5,069,000	3,540,000	6,123,000
Rope	—	—	380,000	547,000	369,000	622,000
Soap	—	—	1,980,000	2,115,000	1,203,000	1,748,000
Tea	—	—	44,500	52,000	57,000	50,500

As Regards the Question of Export.

The sole aim of the productive works of the Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society is to supply its members with goods, and therefore any export to co-operative societies in other countries is at present out of the question. The newly-established tannery, however, forms an exception, as it has been built with a view to a much greater production than the Danish co-operative societies will be able to consume for the present. The aim of the tannery is not to produce cheap, but good leather, and it is at any time ready to deliver for exportation its specialities, viz.: Sole leather of high-class quality and all kinds of leather made from Danish hides, as for instance leather for furniture, travelling bags, and harnesses, at fully competitive prices. Moreover, the Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society imports all kinds of industrial household products, and is desirous of entering into negotiations with foreign wholesale societies specifically wishing to purchase leather and having an excess production from their own works of other articles.

THE DUTCH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

THE Cooperatieve Groothandelsvereeniging "De Handelskamer" (Dutch Co-operative Wholesale Society) has been situated in Rotterdam (Ruigeplaatweg 27-29) since November, 1911, in which month the Handelskamer removed to this address, where a new and quite modern warehouse was built. However, owing to the enormous growth of the yearly sales, extensions soon became necessary, and a new warehouse was opened in December, 1916. The total area of the premises established at the Ruigeplaatweg 27-29 is now about 3000 M^2, and the warehouse may be said to be one of the biggest and best equipped in Rotterdam.

Further we opened in November, 1919, a warehouse in Hengelo, and in January, 1920, one in Roermond. The warehouse in Hengelo, being in the centre of the Twenthe District, has been erected specially for the benefit of the co-operative societies in Twenthe (county Overysel) and enables us to execute their orders without delay and at minimum cost. Similarly the warehouse at Roermond is the fount of supplies for the co-operative societies in Limburg.

Flour, Tea, Coffee.

Besides the offices, showroom, and packing-rooms, there are established in the Rotterdam buildings :—

I. A grain-milling plant and silos. Before milling, the grain is cleaned by a special machine, so that we are able to deliver the finest quality of flour. The mill has a capacity of 100 sacks per day, so that we are producing 500 to 600 sacks per week.

II. An electric tea and coffee-packing plant.

The tea and coffee are automatically weighed and packed, and are delivered in packages containing ½, ¼, 1/10 kg. and 1/20 kg.

The tea is broken and mixed by our own machinery.

The packing machines have a capacity of 1,000 packages per hour for the tea, and of 1,500 packages for the coffee.

In the year 1920 we delivered about 80,000 kg. tea (packed) and 221,000 kg. coffee (packed). Of course we are packing our tea and coffee under our own label, viz., Haka Brand.

With regard to the coffee, we have a special coffee-blending plant with a capacity of 4,000 kg. daily.

We are importing the tea and raw coffee from all parts of the world, which circumstance enables us to deliver a product of the finest taste and highest value, so that the sale of the Haka tea and coffee is constantly and quickly increasing.

Besides these two articles we naturally are packing under our own Haka label a lot of the most various articles, such as cocoa, maizena, baking powder, pudding powder, oatmeal, &c., &c., for which we have also special packing rooms.

Margarine.

One of the biggest products selling under the Haka brand, is margarine, of which we sold nearly 1,000,000 kg. in the year 1920. Although we have not a margarine factory of our own, yet we have a contract with the largest Dutch margarine works, and can offer this article at rock-bottom prices.

Soap.

At the Moerdyk, near Dordrecht, we have our own soap factory, and are there producing soft soap (green, yellow, and glycerine) and household soap (model Sunlight).

The mill has a capacity of 36,000 kg. of soft soap weekly, and of 200 boxes of household soap per week. The soft soap is delivered in barrels, containing each 30 kg., and the household soap in boxes containing 50 cartons, each carton containing four pieces each of 125 gram.

We are now selling about 100,000 kg. of soft soap, and about 400 cases of household soap monthly.

The soap is principally made of pure linseed oil without using any filling material, so that the quality is first class in every respect.

Cheese.

We have established in Gouda (the centre of the cheese market), a special cheese warehouse, under the management of an expert, who purchases the Gouda and Edam cheese directly in the special markets from the farmers. The cheese is stored in the warehouse, which has a storage capacity of 120,000 kg.

As we are buying directly from the producer we are consequently able to sell the cheese at lowest possible prices, and we are glad to say that this line has met with much success.

ROBERT STEWART.

Chairman of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, and Member of Trading Sub-committee of the International C.W.S.

B. JAEGGI.
President of the Administrative Board of the V.S.K.

In the year 1920 we sold about 360,000 kg., amounting in value to about fl.300,000.

We are also exporting large quantities of Dutch cheese to the Wholesale societies in Belgium and Germany.

Cotton Goods.

In Hengelo, the centre of the well-known Twenthe district, we have our cotton goods department, and although it has only been established since February, 1920, we have already succeeded in doing an important trade with the Dutch co-operative societies—a trade which is constantly increasing. We are selling all kinds of cotton goods, blankets, underwear, hosiery, yarns, &c., and have sold in the past year nearly half a million guilders worth.

We are furthermore exporting commodities of this kind to the co-operative societies in the Dutch East and West Indies.

Clothing.

In June, 1920, we established a clothing factory in Rotterdam. The success was enormous, and was no doubt due to our very moderate prices and good quality and make. Although the summer season was nearly ended, and we only produced men's clothing, we sold during July-December, 1920, over 600,000 guilders worth.

This speaks for itself, and shows more distinctly than any description could do that our efforts to supply the Dutch public with valuable clothing at moderate prices have been crowned with success. As an illustration we may say that we sell a first-class suiting (to measure) at the price of 75 to 100 guilders, which means 30-50 per cent cheaper than the prices asked by the private firms.

We are also now making youths' and children's clothing, and have just started in the woollen trade, so that no doubt our clothing factory may be considered, before long, as one of the largest in Holland.

With Regard to Exports.

With regard to the export trade we are able to export all kinds of articles, inasmuch as we have our own export department.

In the matter of cheese, colonial products, flour (Dutch and American directly imported under our own Haka brand), herrings, cocoa, condensed milk, canned vegetables and meat, potato flour, butter, etc., etc., we are already doing an important export trade with the Wholesale societies of Belgium, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Dutch East Indies, and Palestine.

Owing to the favourable position of Rotterdam, we are able to ship our goods by direct steamers to destination, which, of course, saves a considerable amount of the high transport expenses.

For your guidance we may still observe that the sale of the Co-operative Groothandelsvereeniging " De Handelskamer " reached, in 1920, the amount of 15½ million guilders, and this amount will certainly be largely exceeded during 1921.

THE FRENCH WHOLESALE.

(Le Magasin de Gros des Coopératives de France.)

By A. J. Cleuet.

(*Chairman of the Administrative Board of the M.D.G.*)

THE French Wholesale was founded in 1906 and is therefore of comparatively recent formation. It started with a modest capital, and even to-day its share capital is not yet very large when the importance of its transactions is taken into account. The Wholesale is the only wholesale organisation of the distributive co-operative societies in France, and its adherents and clients comprise the majority of the co-operative societies belonging to the National Federation.

Co-operative Organisation.

In France the co-operative organisation presents itself in clear outlines.

First: A single central organisation groups the societies; this is the National Federation, whose functions are propaganda, education, organisation and defence of the co-operative societies, from the moral, legal, and parliamentary standpoint.

Second: A single Wholesale organisation, the Magasin de Gros, charged with the duty of satisfying the commercial needs of the societies. These two organisations (the National Federation and the M.D.G.) are absolutely distinct as regards statutes, administration, finances, &c., but, nevertheless, they are administered by the same body of men, as we call it in France, the *Conseil Unique* or Unique Council. The National Federation and the Co-operative Wholesale having always been closely united, it has been easy to carry the idea with regard to the Conseil Unique into effect. Every year, thanks to this understanding, the National Congress and then the General Meeting of the Co-operative Wholesale elect the same members for their respective boards, and thus the Central Board of the National Federation and the Administrative Board of the Co-operative Wholesale (thirty members) are constituted both at the same time. This system has the advantage (besides others) of securing a complete unity of view between the moral movement on the one hand and the commercial and material movement of French co-operation on the other.

Co-operative Administration.

In actual practice the administration of the movement is effected as follows: The Central Board of the National Federation selects from its midst three members whose function it is to ensure the permanency of the Secretariat; and the Administrative Board of the Co-operative Wholesale appoints five of its members as delegate-administrators, whose functions are similar to those of the Directors

of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society in Manchester. It has seemed requisite to refer *en passant* to our system of administration and to indicate the complete bond or connection existing between the moral movement and the commercial organisation of the French co-operative societies.

Resources and Trade of the Wholesale.

The societies affiliated to the French Co-operative Wholesale are 1,700 in number, and the capital they have subscribed amounts to five million francs (£200,000 at the normal rate of exchange). These resources are insufficient to enable the French Wholesale efficaciously to accomplish its work as a wholesaler, importer and manufacturer. Nevertheless, by means of a continuously advancing organisation of loans, bonds, and deposits at call and for a term, the Wholesale, in late years, has been able to do a considerable amount of trade and to begin the organisation of production. Herewith is the list of figures showing the annual turnover of the Wholesale since the year of its foundation :—

1907.... 3	millions of francs.	1914....11	millions of francs.
1908.... 4	„ „	1915.... 9	„ „
1909.... 6	„ „	1916....20	„ „
1910.... 9	„ „	1917....31	„ „
1911....10	„ „	1918....59	„ „
1912....10	„ „	1919.. 121	„ „
1913....12	„ „	1920.. 165	„ „

From 1915 to 1920 the rise in the prices of commodities contributed to the enlargement of the figures of turnover, but only to a minor extent.

Trading Establishments.

The Wholesale has thirteen grocery and five wine depôts, situated in the various co-operative centres of France, and it has purchasing agencies at Algiers, Marseilles, and Beziers (wines). In order to ensure the supply of wine to societies, the Wholesale has acquired 200 tank waggons, which ply between the wine-producing centres and the stores of the Wholesale's affiliated societies.

Productive Establishments.

As regards production the Wholesale has two classes of manufactories, viz., manufactories of boots and shoes, and manufactories of tinned provisions. The three boot and shoe manufactories situated at Amiens (Somme), Fougères (Ile et Vilaine), and Lillers (Pas de Calais) have a yearly collective output to the amount of 12 million francs, and employ eighty workpeople.

The manufactories of tinned provisions at Bordeaux and at Nantes produce tinned peas, French beans, tomatoes, young haricot beans, spinach, asparagus, cooked dishes, and pasties to the value of about two million francs.

The manufactory at Audienne (Finisterre) also produces tinned peas, but its main output is canned fish: sprats, sardines, mackerel, tunny, &c. And in the list of the productive establishments of the Wholesale the following must also be included: a manufactory of underclothing at Bordeaux, the coffee roastery at Paris, a sawmill for the production of boxes for the manufactories and for the manufacture of sabots, and in addition to these a chocolate works, recently established at Bordeaux.

The annual total output of the Wholesale's productions amounts in value to 20 millions of francs.

The Wholesale's International Trade.

The Wholesale has not, as yet, reached the stage of development enabling it to devote itself systematically to export trade, inasmuch as the output of its productive establishments is hardly sufficient to cope with the needs of the affiliated societies. Nevertheless, the Wholesale has already carried on an international co-operative trade, though on a moderate scale.

Sales of footwear manufactured at the establishments of the M.D.G. have been made to several large societies in Belgium, and its organisation for the purchase, transport and sale of wines has also enabled the M.D.G. to do a certain amount of business with co-operative societies in Belgium and Switzerland. And in the matter of imports the M.D.G. has had many transactions with the Leman Street (London) tea warehouse of the C.W.S.

What the M.D.G. can Supply.

The export trade of the M.D.G., however, would develop if the co-operative organisations of other countries would apply to it for wines, canned fish, and certain kinds of canned vegetables. So far as wines are concerned, especially the wines of Bordeaux, which are in tolerable demand for exportation, the M.D.G. possesses an organisation with a special entrepôt at Bordeaux, enabling it to satisfy all demands of foreign co-operative societies, as regards both quality and price.

Certain kinds of tinned vegetables much in request abroad are likewise manufactured in our establishments at Bordeaux and Nantes, and though we devote ourselves to the production of a quantity sufficient for the needs of our societies, yet, if the idea of international co-operative trade takes root, we could easily obtain from these two establishments a greater output for the benefit of the co-operative societies of other countries.

Our works at Audienne, in the department of Finisterre (Brittany), could also supply canned fish (sardines, tunny, and mackerel). The productions of this establishment are unimpeachable, and may challenge comparison with the best French brands. Finally, the trading agencies at Marseilles, Bordeaux, Beziers, and Algiers could

render a real service to foreign co-operative societies in their purchases of oils, wines, Algerian and exotic products.

The French Co-operative Movement and the International Idea.

The French co-operative movement—the M.D.G. especially—is firmly attached to the idea of international co-operative trade.

At the inter-allied co-operative conferences, which were held at Paris during the war, the idea of the International Co-operative Wholesale was taken up by the French delegates. Since then, an international committee has been appointed to discover the necessary ways and means for the establishment of permanent trading relations between the European Co-operative Wholesales. With this committee, the French movement has collaborated most assiduously and with the earnest desire to bring things to a head.

The matter under discussion is, in fact, a very big question. We think that to grapple with the problem successfully, it will be necessary at the beginning to limit the operations of the International Wholesale Society to certain commodities of current consumption and in general demand. Coincident with these operations of the International Co-operative Wholesale, it is desirable that the wholesale societies of neighbouring countries should frequently correspond, and exchange their productions, and, commercially speaking, should keep in constant touch with each other. By this means, not only the idea but the practice of international trading (which is at least equally essential) will become popularised.

After that there will be nothing more to do except to co-ordinate all those business relations in the international organism roughly outlined.

CHARLES GIDE,

Professor of Cooperation at the Collège de France.

THE establishment of a Chair of Co-operation at the Collège de France and the appointment thereto of Professor Charles Gide may be regarded as a well-merited tribute both to the French movement and its veteran leader.

Charles Gide was born at Uzès, near Nîmes, on the 29th June, 1847, and so is now 74 years of age. After completing his law studies he became Professor of Political Economy, first at Bordeaux, then at Montpellier, and then Professor of Social Economy at Paris. He is also the author of various works, viz. : Principles of Political Economy (of which sixteen French and eighteen foreign editions have been printed); Course of Political Economy (four French and four foreign editions); the Institutions of Social Progress; the History of Economic Doctrines from the Physiocrats to the present time, &c., besides having been the founder and editor of the *Review of Political Economy*. And it may be noted that in 1913 the Royal Academy of Belgium bestowed on him the Laveleye prize, which is granted every six years to the economist or jurisconsult whose efforts have most contributed to the advancement of the science.

He was one of the founders of the Nîmes School of Co-operation and also one of the promoters of the International Co-operative Alliance. And of both the old Co-operative Union in France and the present National Co-operative Federation he was elected president. He is the author of the standard work "Consumers' Co-operative Societies," and is also director of the co-operative journal *L'Emancipation*.

THE PRODUCTION OF THE GERMAN CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE.

By Heinrich Kaufmann, Hamburg.

Member of Executive Board of the Central Union of German Distributive Co-operative Societies; Member of the Executive Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance; and Member of the Provisional State Economic Council in Germany.

In accordance with the co-operative principle of organising consumption, and production for organised consumption, the Co-operative Wholesale Society of the German co-operative distributive societies likewise proceeded to the establishment of productive enterprises, or to the taking over thereof, as soon as the preliminary conditions were fulfilled. To this development of the German Wholesale a decisive impetus was given by the tour of investigation in England made by the business chiefs and members of the Supervisory Council of the Wholesale in 1899 for the purpose of inspecting the English Co-operative Wholesale and the English co-operative societies. Soon after the return to Germany it was decided that the German Wholesale (G. E. K.) should launch out into productive undertakings and should procure the requisite means. The establishment of a soap manufactory was the first project.

The First Productive Enterprise.

Significant it is, however, that the German Wholesale for many years found it impossible to obtain the necessary concession for the establishment of the manufactory in question. Wherever they attempted to establish a soap works the local manufacturers and the town authorities took exception thereto, and the legal processes dragged on for years. At long length, however, the Wholesale found its wishes complied with at Gröba (a small place near Riesa in Saxony) where a large industrial site close by the Elbe became opened out. The Saxon Government showed itself much more far-seeing than the governments in other German states in which the Wholesale had tried to establish its soap works. The Saxon Government placed no unnecessary difficulties in the way of the Wholesale which was thus enabled to proceed with the erection of the manufactory.

Developments.

After a few years, however, the soap manufactory proved too small for requirements, and so a soap works was begun also at Düsseldorf, and under the greatest imaginable difficulties. This establishment became ready for operations after the outbreak of the war. The manufactory, however, did not completely operate owing to the State control of the soap industry during the war. And what particularly roused the ire of co-operators was the fact that the products of their own soap manufactories were delivered chiefly to private traders by the soap syndicate, whilst the co-operative societies were obliged to take the soaps of private manufacturers, and all complaints on this head proved perfectly unavailing.

On the large and fine industrial tract of land in Gröba, near Riesa, the Wholesale also erected a manufactory of edible paste commodities and a box manufactory, in addition to a large warehouse block containing also a mustard manufactory; but further developments in this direction such as the building of corn mills, the erection of a manufactory for the production of chemico-technical articles, and another for the production of chocolate, cocoa, and confectionery, as well as others, were prevented by the war because the permission to build manufactories was unobtainable, and also because there was a shortage of raw materials and labour.

The Raising of New Capital.

After the war the German co-operative movement suffered from the extraordinary depreciation of the currency, so that the securing of sufficient capital became the first thing to demand attention. In this connection our British friends will be interested to learn that the Wholesale general meeting's resolution to raise the share capital of 20 million marks up to 30 million was so far surpassed that in a few months a sum of over 20 million marks of new capital was subscribed—a circumstance which enabled a general meeting of the Wholesale to decide on raising the amount of share capital up to 50 million marks. A bond loan raised by the Wholesale has also been highly successful, and the bank deposits have increased to a striking extent. Besides these items there are also the large yearly allocations to the reserve fund, so that the difficulties of procuring the requisite amount of capital have now been overcome, and new plans are maturing towards execution.

Productive Establishments Taken Over.

The German Wholesale, like the C.W.S., has taken over a number of productive co-operative societies in accordance with their desire—societies whose range since the first taking over is shown in the following list: The Tobacco-workers' Co-operative Society with three cigar manufactories situated respectively in Hamburg, Hockenheim, and Frankenberg; the Twist Tobacco Workers' Co-operative Society at Nordhausen; the Productive Co-operative Society for sweetmeats and chocolate at Altona; the Productive Co-operative Society for brushes at Schönheide; the Weavery and Ready-made Clothing Co-operative Society at Oppach, and the Productive Co-operative Society for shop-fittings and furniture at Dortmund. In place of the cigar works taken over, new model manufactories have been erected and equipped by the Wholesale. In the establishment of the Productive Society for shop-fittings and furniture, named "Wood Industry" (Holzindustrie) at Dortmund, the Wholesale itself was largely interested, so that this establishment also is equipped as a model.

The manufactories of the rest of the productive co-operative societies referred to, which were taken over by the Wholesale, will have to be replaced by new buildings within a definite period.

Of the manufactories which the Wholesale carries on, there is one which has been acquired by purchase, viz., the match works at Lauenburg. The erection of a new match works was impossible owing to the State control of the match manufacture. This works is also now too small, and a larger one will have to be built in its stead.

Recent Developments.

A productive co-operative society for cigar manufacture at Stuttgart has recently been taken over by the Wholesale, and on the ground plot of the Hamburg cigar manufactory a modern and model smoking tobacco manufactory has been fitted up. At the present time the Wholesale is also erecting large warehouses at Chemnitz, whither the stocks of groceries, cloth, ready-made clothing, boots and shoes, and household utensils will be transferred. And in the building block at Gröba which is coming at liberty, two modern productive establishments will presumably be installed.

The List of the Wholesale's Manufactories.

A list of the works and manufactories of the Co-operative Wholesale, together with particulars relating to the quantity and value of the commodities produced, the readers will find on next page.

The production of the distributive co-operative societies and of the Wholesale is essentially a production to meet a demand, and is therefore organised, first and foremost, to supply the needs of the movement. Nevertheless, it will frequently happen that a Wholesale Society has increased its productive capacity to such an extent that it is able to export products for the time being. Other circumstances also may lead to a desirable export.

Commodities Available for Export.

In consequence of the war, the depreciation of the currency, the general impoverishment, and the ruling high prices, the consumption of cigars in Germany has fallen off to a great extent, especially in the circles closely connected with co-operative societies, and hence the productive capacity of the Wholesale's three cigar manufactories is considerably in excess of the present demand. Thus the Wholesale would be able to export cigars in considerable quantities.

The two soap manufactories are so well equipped that they also possess the capacity to cope with future requirements, and consequently their productive capacity is in excess of the present demand. The same observation applies to the manufactory of shop-fittings and furniture at Dortmund. And thus considerable quantities of products from these manufactories also could be exported.

The other manufactories cover the needs of the Wholesale to a lesser degree, and mainly only a small part of the needs, so that the products of these establishments are outside the question where exports are concerned.

Year of Erection or Taking over.	Manufactory.	1919. Quantity.	1919. Value.	1920. Quantity.	1920. Value.
			Marks.		Marks.
1910	Cigar Manufactory (Hamburg).....	2,433,000 cgrs.	1,076,405	2,527,000 cgrs.	2,853,476
1910	Cigar Manufactory (Hockenheim) ..	3,255,000 cgrs.	793,987	6,763,000 cgrs.	4,849,736
1910	Cigar Manufactory (Frankenberg) ..	1,924,000 cgrs.	442,215	3,717,000 cgrs.	2,823,564
1913	Twist Tobacco Manufactory (Nordhausen).	27,766 lb.	720,280	69,073 lb.	4,170,954
1910	Soap Manufactory (Gröba)	3,160,697 kg.	9,610,738	4,031,880 kg.	71,918,429
1915	Soap Manufactory (Düsseldorf)	1,164,217 kg.	3,679,290	2,286,300 kg.	37,666,391
1914	Edible Paste Commodities Manufactory (Gröba)	4,032,777 kg.	4,337,117	706,680 kg.	3,397,714
1912	Match Manufactory (Lauenburg) ..	1,888,449 packets	1,223,689	3,015,017 packets	7,764,073
1914	Box Manufactory (Gröba)	{ 2,894 cbm { 132,153 boxes	905,763	{ 5,145 cbm { 155,816 boxes	4,592,054
1913	Mustard Manufactory (Gröba).....	278,000 kg.	390,181	338,900 kg.	981,176
1918	Sweetmeats and Chocolate Manufactory (Altona).	130,760 kg.	1,471,252	175,978 kg.	5,568,871
1919	Brush Manufactory (Schönheide) ...	—	313,004 (4 months, 1919)	250,113 brushes (2nd half year)	2,791,192
1919	Cabinet Works (Dortmund)	—	744,924 (3 months, 1919)	—	3,671,434
1918	Cloth and Clothing Manufactory (Oppach).	4,584 metres (cloth) 18,859 articles of clothing	345,757	30,844 metres (cloth) 89,030 articles of clothing	3,380,384
		Total 1919	26,054,602	Total 1920	156,429,449

THE "HANGYA" CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

THE "Hangya" (Ant) Co-operative Wholesale Society of the Co-operative League of Hungarian Farmers is a distributing and controlling centre to the co-operative societies affiliated thereto. These societies within the territory left to Hungary by the Trianon treaty number about 1,900. The Wholesale, as such, is not engaged in production, but in order to supply its members at first hand with manufactured goods, it has founded a separate society, the "Hangya" Industry Company Ltd. By so doing, the co-operators were freed from the risks connected with industrial undertakings, and the advantages of decentralisation were secured, while, at the same time, the interest of the consumers remained fully safeguarded, the control over the Company being entirely in the hands of the "Hangya" Wholesale.

Productive Undertakings.

The "Hangya" Industry Company Ltd., founded only in 1916, has developed on a large scale, and at present is carrying on production in the following undertakings of its own: Two steam mills in Törökszentmiklós and Mindszent, a sweetmeat factory in Debreczen, a soap factory, chemical works, a brush and broom factory, a rope works, a match factory, a cutlery works, a distillery and wine cellars, all in Budapest. Besides its own undertakings it also participates in several other industrial enterprises, such as an important leaven and spirit factory, and a great pig-fattening establishment, besides a red-pepper mill and a medicinal herbs collecting establishment. The plants of the society are of a modern technical construction, and their productive capacity is greatly in excess of the needs of the "Hangya's" members, so that as soon as it becomes possible to carry on production on a normal scale, large quantities will be available for the general consumption of the country and even for exportation. During the war and afterwards the difficulties in obtaining the necessary fuel and raw materials were very great, but lately the situation has decidedly improved. At present the "Hangya" is already able to offer for exportation toilet soap, as well as brooms and brushes, for ordinary household use.

In spite of the above-mentioned difficulties, the value of the turnover of the society in the principal articles for the year 1920 was as follows:—

	Hungarian Crowns.		Hungarian Crowns.
Wine	8,430,385	Brooms and Brushes	11,473,040
Spirits	26,314,683	Sweetmeats	1,468,581
Chemicals	9,545,320	Ropes	2,710,115
Soap	20,128,504	Cutlery	784,550

Hungary being an essentially agricultural country, the bulk of its exports consists of agricultural products. The "Hangya" possesses a separate organ, the "Futura" Hungarian Co-operative Unions Trading Company Ltd., which it has founded in connection with the National Central Co-operative Society of Credit, and which, by way of the rural co-operative societies, collects the products of members of both organisations, and partly puts these at the disposal of home consumption, and partly exports them into foreign countries. The Company, in which the Hungarian Government has also taken an interest, was only founded in the year 1919, but in the first year of its existence it has achieved a turnover of approximately 4 milliards of Hungarian crowns.

The Principal Products of Hungary for Export.

The principal products in which Hungary used to have an export trade are: Cereals—wheat, rye, barley, oats, maize—flour, legumes, seeds, eggs, wool, wine, spirits, sugar, honey, poppy, red pepper, fruit, bones, feathers, and other by-products.

The quantities available for export cannot be stated even approximately, because the productive activity of the country has not as yet been restored to its former capacity, after the heavy blows it has suffered through the war, the bolshevism, and the foreign occupation as well as through the dismemberment of the former economic unity formed by the historical territory of Hungary. There are also numerous governmental restrictions and prohibitions to which the trade is still subject. Many of the war-time restrictions have already been abolished, the inland trade being now almost entirely freed from them, but in the interest of the home consumption the exportation of the principal commodities is still subject to governmental restrictions.

Last Estimates of Crops.

As an orientation it may be mentioned that the last estimates of the year's crops were 12·16 million metric centners for wheat, 5·17 millions for rye, 4·51 millions for barley, and 2·74 millions for oats. This yield of wheat will leave a considerable surplus free for export, but up till now the Government has only authorised the exportation of one million metric centners of flour.

The crops of other plants this year have greatly suffered by the drought, but remarkable efforts are being made to develop the productive resources of the country. The "Futura" Hungarian Co-operative Unions Trading Company Ltd. is taking an important part in this work, and there is every hope that Hungary will soon be able to contribute to the food supply of Western Europe.

THE WHOLESALE OF THE UNION OF POLISH CONSUMERS' SOCIETIES.

THE Polish co-operative movement which had chiefly developed in the ancient Russian Poland, suffered great injury during the war, which raged over the whole country for four years ; and as a result of which the activities of the Wholesale of the Union of Polish Consumers' Societies were reduced almost to vanishing point. The direct military operations, the partition of the whole territory into three occupations (German, Austrian, and Russian), together with the very severe military requisitions and regulations, and the complete devastation of the country, rendered impossible all regular co-operative trade and entirely exhausted our co-operative stocks. After the riddance from foreign invasion and the restoration of the political independence of Poland, the principal care of our Wholesale was to supply to the co-operative stores the necessary goods, which at the moment were to be obtained only from abroad.

The English Co-operative Wholesale Society came forward first to help. A goods-credit of £158,000 was offered and accepted, and in a short time the goods received were sold off. And then an unexpected trouble arose.

At the time of the arrival of the goods £1 was worth about 80 Polish marks, and thus the whole debt amounted to 12,640,000 Polish marks. But, unfortunately, at the time of payment of the first instalment amounting to £15,000, £1 was equivalent to 180 Polish marks, and then the depreciation of the Polish currency proceeded rapidly. On January 1st, 1920, the balance of the debt amounted to 71,500,000 Polish marks, and on the same date in 1921 to 429,000,000 Polish marks, and at the present moment (by the close of September, 1921) the debt amounts to 2,574,000,000 marks in Polish currency.

In such conditions it was impossible to pay cash for the goods until the improvement of the currency put an end to the obstacle.

The English Co-operative Wholesale Society agreed to a postponement of the payment, but, nevertheless, the so-called "English debt" became the greatest care of the Union of Polish Consumers' Societies.

The Board thought it prudent not to await the improvement of the currency, but to create the security and the possibility of payment by purchasing property in building and land especially fitted for productive purposes and for starting our own productive undertakings.

The young Polish Wholesale (established in 1911) did not start productive works during the three years of its existence before the war ; apart from a small paper-bag factory. During the war, as mentioned above, the activities of the Wholesale were almost suspended.

Owing to the postponement of the payment of the "English debt," it became possible to purchase the necessary premises, and to commence production.

The land and building property was purchased in ten localities, in two of which (Kielce, Wloclawek) the buildings consist of big factory premises with a strong steam turbine (in Kielce). The total area of this land and building property is over 250,000 square metres, and the capacity of the buildings over 122,000 cubic metres.

Unfortunately, the biggest premises in Kielce were, and are still, occupied by military forces, and only part of the premises could be used for productive purposes. In this part, on September 20th, 1920, was started the first Polish co-operative factory, namely, the soap factory. The production, owing to the reasons mentioned and to the lack of raw materials, was a very small one, and now amounts to 100,000 kg. of soap monthly.

There were, and are, many other productive establishments in view, such as a steam mill, a match factory, &c., but very great difficulties are hindering this work.

These difficulties arise principally from the depreciation of the currency and are :—

(1) A lack of raw materials ;

(2) A lack of machinery and tools, which can both be obtained abroad, but the extremely small value of the currency does not allow of any import of goods.

Commodities Available for Export.

In order to obtain the necessary commodities from abroad and to assure payment of the "English debt," the Polish Wholesale resolved to enter into the export trade with a view to the exchange of commodities.

The following goods and raw materials were acknowledged as suitable for export and obtainable in the inland market, viz. : *Agricultural produce :* Flax, hops, potatoes, onions, dried mushrooms, and bristles. *Oak staves* from the Polish Wholesale's own forest enterprises. *Manufactured goods :* Paraffin, joiners' glue, brushes, marble, fancy wear, wood fuel, turpentine, and tin cooking and household utensils. *Objects of peasants' industry :* Wooden toys and fancy goods, woollen carpets, laces, embroidery, and basket and osier wares.

The proposal was made to the English Co-operative Wholesale Society either to purchase all the goods suitable on its own account, or to take them for commissionary sale on the English co-operative and even non-co-operative market.

The quantities of goods obtainable are difficult to determine. In any case there are sufficient quantities of them on hand, and the whole matter depends solely on the fact, whether they would be suitable for the English market.

Notwithstanding, further efforts are being made to develop co-operative production, but the success of it stands in close connection with the export trade and goods exchange of our Wholesale.

In order to facilitate the proposed export trade the Wholesale of the Polish Union of Consumers' Societies decided to establish, from October 1st, its own agency in London.

SWEDEN AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

By Anders Hedberg.

PRODUCTION within the Swedish co-operative movement has up till now been principally limited to the local production of necessaries—such as bread, meat products, &c. Quite recently, however, there has been established an extensive margarine factory with an annual productive capacity of 10,000 tons. Besides this there already exists a chemical factory which provides the whole movement with ordinary household requisites. None of the articles thus manufactured are suitable for export.

The Swedish co-operators entertain doubts as to the advisability of wholesale societies carrying on export. The latter's principal mission must be to provide the consumers' own country with necessities. The existence of a surplus for export must, as a general rule, be considered abnormal, and in most cases is probably due either to adverse commercial conditions or to the management not being able, for some reason or other, to calculate the consumers' exact requirements, to satisfy which, production is carried on.

Consequently, if the Swedish co-operators were in a position to export margarine to the co-operative organisation of some other country, this, according to Swedish opinion, might possibly be looked upon as a friendly business transaction to the mutual advantage of both, but would not mean international co-operation nor be in accordance with Rochdale principles. In such a case as this, two wholesale societies would be opposed in their interests, the one as buyer, the other as seller. On the other hand, the Rochdale principles provide that the consumers of a given commodity should either buy conjointly or, still better, manufacture conjointly. It is absolutely against this principle that one group of consumers should produce an article and sell it to another group—such action only being advisable in exceptional cases.

True International Co-operation.

True international co-operation, as far as I can see, can only be carried on under some such conditions as the following :—

One is that national wholesale societies should buy or produce conjointly ; another is that they should set up joint financial institutions ; a third is that the organised consumers of one country should purchase from the co-operatively organised producers of another country.

It is generally acknowledged that the consumers' co-operative movement in most European countries cannot for very long, if ever,

undertake farming on an extensive scale. In such countries farmers' co-operation has an important function to fulfil. To that extent to which the products of the country exceed the home-consumption, these co-operators can, if they enter into business relations with the organised consumers of other countries, work along such lines as may come within the scope of international co-operation. In this respect Sweden has something to offer to its foreign friends.

What Sweden Can Offer.

In 1913 England imported 300,000 cwt. of Swedish butter to a total value of £2,000,000. Over one-third of this was produced in co-operative dairies. It is not known how much of this butter ultimately found its way to English co-operators, but, as the manager of the largest Swedish butter-exporting society—Skånska Smörexportföreningen, Malmö—is an Englishman who was formerly employed in the C.W.S., it may be presumed that the relations between English and Swedish co-operators in this respect have always been cordial. For the present the Swedish butter export trade, as a result of the war, is largely at a standstill. It is likely, however, that it will soon be in full swing again, and then it is up to the co-operative importers and exporters to get into renewed touch with one another. This applies also to the Swedish egg trade.

Before the war the Swedish co-operative egg exporting society—Svenska Äggexportföreningen, Tommelilla—sent to England about 270,000 kg. per annum. Most of this probably went to private firms in England. It may be that the Swedish egg export trade cannot be set going before conditions in Russia make possible the import of Russian eggs into Sweden, so that the latter can export new laid eggs abroad. At present Sweden is consuming all the eggs it produces.

Further, co-operatively produced Swedish bacon was, to a considerable extent, exported to England, and it would be desirable that this commodity also should ultimately reach English co-operators. The export of cheese from Sweden might well be handled in the same way.

The Scandinavian Wholesale.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that international co-operation between co-operative wholesale societies in Northern Europe has already been established through the founding of the Scandinavian Co-operative Wholesale Society in Copenhagen, which, like most co-operative enterprises, began on a very modest scale, but has now developed to such an extent that the Scandinavian wholesale societies buy their colonial produce entirely through that medium. This has proved to be to their great advantage, chiefly because the operations of this society have been based on the one satisfactory principle—the Rochdale principle.

ANTONIO VERGNANINI.

ANTONIO VERGNANINI, the secretary of the chief co-operative organisation in Italy, and the leading personage in the Italian co-operative movement to-day, was born at Reggio Emilia in the year 1862, and received his education at the secondary school of Reggio and at the universities of Turin and Bologna, where he studied in succession mathematics and law. His social and political education, however, was acquired elsewhere. Amongst the first of the formative influences were the clubs of Bologna, which derived their inspiration from Italian idealists such as A. Saffi (the friend and partisan of Mazzini) and the illustrious poet Carducci. Subsequently, the teachings of the socialist leader Prampolini became another formative influence through which Vergnanini became a Socialist of the reformist school.

Significant as to the outlook and temperament of Vergnanini is the fact of his abandonment of his law studies at Bologna University for the sphere of journalism, in which he made his mark at Bologna as one of the editors of the democratic liberal paper *Don Chisciotto*. On his return to Reggio Emilia, his native place, he threw himself with characteristic ardour into the work of promoting social advance. Thus he became the first secretary to the first Federation of Labour and Productive Societies (founded in 1884) of his time, and he also participated in the trade union movement. In Reggio Emilia he likewise edited the first Socialist periodical, *Il Punto Nero* ("The Black Spot"), a title which was adopted from an expression of the cabinet minister Crispi, relating to the province of Reggio Emilia, where the Socialist propaganda originated. Finally, condemned by the Government on account of his socialistic ideas, Vergnanini took refuge in Switzerland along with Cabrini. In Geneva, where he stayed seven years, Vergnanini utilised his energies in the task of organising sections of the society of Italian emigrants all over Switzerland.

On his return to Italy from his long exile, Vergnanini resumed his life work. At Reggio Emilia he became the Secretary of the Chamber of Labour, in which post he was notably active in transforming peasant and workmen trade unionists nto co-operators.

In 1903 he initiated the Union of Co-operative Societies and a Co-operative Wholesale Society in the province of Reggio Emilia. In 1907 he founded the Union of Labour and Productive Societies, by which the railway line between Reggio and Ciano was constructed. During the International Co-operative Congress, which was held at Cremona in the month of September, 1907, many members of the Congress visited Reggio and attended the inauguration of the railway line referred to.

Suffice it to say that Vergnanini's outstanding record revealed his capacities for a wider sphere, and on the demise of the Secretary of the National League of Italian Co-operative Societies (A. Maffi), Vergnanini was appointed his successor and with what distinction the post has been filled the Italian movement knows full well, for Vergnanini is recognised as the leader through whose instrumentality the movement has been raised to a national status, and as the practical idealist who has brought all his influence to bear in the cause of working-class solidarity and in the promotion of the alliance of all sections of the working-class movement.

Amongst Vergnanini's many-sided activities his work as a writer must also be noted. Through his instrumentality as the director of the official organ of the movement, *La Cooperazione Italiana*, as well as its leader writer, the paper has been made one of the most illuminating co-operative organs on the European continent. Vergnanini is also one of the two directors of the newly-established co-operative review, *La Rivista della Cooperazione*, and has also translated the works of Professor Gide into Italian.

Lack of space precludes any detailed reference to Vergnanini's ideas, but the value of these will be gauged on the publication of a selection of his writings in volume form.

Vestibule of the Administrative Wing of the New Hospital at Genoa, Italy. The colonnade staircases and balustrades, in white and coloured marbles, have been constructed by the Marble-workers' Co-operative Society, Genoa.

A. Vergnanini.

A View of the Central Premises of the Railway Workers' Co-operative Society, "La Suburbana," Milan, Italy.

C.W.S. Dairy & Poultry Farming.

(1) Dairy at Chaigley.

(2) Chicks in Brooder House.

(3) Ducklings.

(4) Prize 900 gallon cow at Compton Basset, Wilts.

WORLD-WIDE PRICES IN WAR-TIME AND PEACE.

The United Kingdom.

AS the year 1920 saw the wage-earning consumer cogitating on the sensational increase of prices and the ever-dwindling purchasing power of his earnings, so the year 1921 has seen him ruminating on the fall which has turned out a mockery owing to the drastic reduction of wages due to the industrial slump which has followed the boom as inevitably as night follows day.

The boom which began in 1919 was the natural outcome of the great demand for commodities due to the scarcity caused by the war, and demand being greatly in excess of supply advantage was taken of this circumstance by industrialists and wholesalers to raise prices to the highest altitude possible as shown by the "Economist's" figures for March, 1920, recording the level of wholesale prices at 120·2 points higher than in March, 1919. But by this time the strain on consumers and financiers had reached its limit and both took action; in other words both started playing ca' canny. The consumers began restricting their purchases, and the bankers began restricting credit, and so, faced with a declining demand and a limitation of financial resources, the profiteers saw themselves forced to lower prices in order to dispose of their stocks and carry on. And with the first fall of prices buyers began playing ca' canny too; that is, began to hold back their orders in anticipation of a further fall, and so precipitated the slump in wholesale prices which continued till the middle of 1921, during which period (from March, 1920, to July, 1921) wholesale prices, according to the "Economist's" index number, slumped 181½ points, or 61·3 points more than the whole rise of points during the period from March, 1919, to March, 1920.

Meanwhile the extent of the industrial depression may be gauged from the twelve months' slump in the volume of exports recorded for the period from August, 1920, to July, 1921, inclusive; the circumstance that this period began and ended later than the fall in wholesale prices being explained by the time required to execute orders. But the most poignant indication of the industrial depression is afforded by the official statistics of unemployment. Thus, according to the figures of the Trade Unions making returns, the percentage of unemployed membership increased from 0·9 in April, 1920, to 6·1 per cent in December, and continued till June, 1921, when the figures showed 23·3 per cent of trade unionists out of work, or practically one in every four. But more impressive than mere percentages are the figures of the Labour Exchanges, which recorded 2,178,294 and 2,177,899 unemployed for June 10th and June 24th respectively, in addition to

833,000 persons working systematic short time at the last-mentioned date. And on the 30th September (despite some improvement in trade) the Employment Exchanges recorded 1,405,000 unemployed, and 322,000 working systematic short time, whilst 366,500 persons had ceased to register because of having exhausted their unemployment benefit.

But the irony of the slump can only be realised when viewed in relation to the Peace Treaties and to the conduct of international affairs. Thus the transference of German shipping is bound to have an effect on the shipbuilding industry of Great Britain, and the enforced supplies of German coal to France caused a slump in the exports of coal from South Wales, while the price-cutting by Belgian and German steel manufacturers serves as a striking indication of foreign competition. And when we also recall Germany's booming trade, and the British loss of huge markets abroad (the Russian included) we come to realise the boomerang policy of the British Government and the criminal lunacy shown by the Allied Governments in the sphere of international affairs.

Retail Prices.

Turn we now to the course of retail prices in the United Kingdom, which continued to soar upward till November, 1920, although the textile trades, the clothing trade, and the boot and shoe trade had shown the effects of trade depression for months ; whereas the wholesale prices of foodstuffs had remained at a high level till October.

The sensational rise in the cost of living previous to the slump in retail prices may be gauged from the official statistics recording a rise of 26 points in food prices between July and November, 1920, and an increase of 191 per cent since July, 1914, during which period the general cost of living (including food, clothing, fuel, lighting, rent, etc.) had increased 176 per cent ; which means that in relation to the cost of food the paper sovereign had sunk to the level of 6s. 10d., and to 7s. 3d. in relation to the general cost of living. Then the limit of endurance having been reached, prices had to come down and the reduction continued till June, 1921, when the official statistics showed a fall of 73 points in the price of food, and a fall of 57 points in the general cost of living since November the preceding year ; in other words, the cost of food had come down to 118 per cent in excess of pre-war cost, and the general cost of living to 119 per cent ; while the value of the paper sovereign had increased to 9s. 2d. And after a fluctuation during the months of July, August, and September, a further reduction brought the cost of living in October down to 110 per cent above the pre-war levels.

Herewith are the figures showing how far the price percentages since July, 1920, have exceeded the level of prices for July, 1914 :—

1920.	Food. Per cent.	All items. Per cent.
July	158	152
August	162	155
September	167	161
October	170	164
November	**191**	**176**
December	182	169
1921.		
January	178	165
February	163	151
March	149	141
April	138	133
May	132	128
June	**118**	**119**
July	120	119
August	126	122
September	125	120
October	110	110

The following figures show in more detail for the months of July, August, September, and October the percentages of food prices in excess of those for July, 1914 :—

	July.	August.	September.	October.
Large towns	122	127	126	
Small towns and villages	119	125	124	
The United Kingdom as a whole	120	126	125	

That the general mass of consumers have food for reflection is shown by the fact that the cost of living so far exceeds that of pre-war days, although the war ended three years ago.

Foreign Countries.

The comparative statistics of the price movement proclaim its world-wide extent. Just as the boom in prices affected practically all countries, so has the slump, as is shown by the fact that in fourteen out of the seventeen countries figuring in the official table given at the end of this article retail prices have fallen ; the three exceptions to the fall being Finland, Germany, and Italy, in which countries prices have continued soaring upwards owing to special factors.

Belgium.

In Belgium the decline of prices in 1921 is shown by the index figures for June and July, which represent a fall of 40 and 49 points respectively, as compared with the figure for July, 1920. But that the cost of food is still a matter of grave concern is proclaimed by the fact that the average level of food cost in July, 1921, was 310 per cent above the level of April, 1914, in the case of families with the lowest incomes (*i.e.*, families with incomes falling below 5 francs per day) ; whilst in the case of families with incomes ranging from 5 to 8 francs daily, the food cost was 305 per cent ; and in the case of families with daily incomes of 8 francs and over, the food cost was 309 per cent above that of April, 1914. For August the percentage in excess of pre-war cost was 327 as compared with 310 in July.

Denmark.

In Denmark the cost of living (as calculated on the basis of the cost of maintenance of a working-class family of five persons in Copenhagen—a cost embracing food, clothing, fuel, lighting, rent, taxation, &c.) increased from 153 per cent to 176 per cent above the pre-war figure between July, 1920, and January, 1921. But between January and July, 1921, the index figures receded from 176 to 136—a fall of 40 points in the course of six months.

France.

In Paris the cost of food, fuel, and lighting (based on the pre-war budget of a typical Parisian working-class family) which by July, 1920, had risen to 273 per cent above the pre-war figure, had subsided to 206 per cent by July, 1921 ; whilst in other French towns the average cost had subsided from 288 per cent above the pre-war figure to 263 per cent between the second quarter of 1920 and the second quarter of 1921. But after that prices were again on the rise as shown by the increase in Paris from 206 per cent to 229 per cent above the pre-war level within the course of two months.

Holland.

In the matter of food prices Holland still remains the least unfavourably affected of all the European countries, as is shown by the total food bill of a working-class family in Amsterdam which in June, July, and September, 1921, figured at 84, 86, and 84 per cent respectively in excess of the figure for 1913, and as compared with the 117 per cent in excess recorded for July, 1920.

Norway and Sweden.

In Norway the expenditure of an average urban family (with a pre-war income of about £83 per annum) on food, clothing, fuel, rent, taxation, &c., figured in June and August, 1921, at 190 and 197 per cent respectively above the pre-war rate, as compared with 219 per cent in July, 1920 ; so that the June figure (1921) represents a fall of 29 points as compared with the previous July, and the August figure a rise of 7 points as compared with the June figure.

In Sweden the basis of computation is the cost of maintaining a typical urban family of four persons with a pre-war expenditure of about £111 per annum on food, fuel, and lighting. As the cost of living on this basis was in July, 1921, 132 per cent above pre-war cost as compared with 197 per cent in July, 1920, it will be seen that the cost of living diminished by 65 points between the two dates. The September figure indicated a further fall by 4 points.

Switzerland.

The figures for Switzerland are those issued by the Statistical Department of the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies, and show that the cost of maintaining a typical working-class family in food, fuel, and lighting continuously increased from June, 1914, to November, 1920,

and that there has been a continuous subsidence since the last-named date. The following figures reveal the trend of expenditure :—

June, 1914. Francs.	October, 1920. Francs.	1921. June. Francs.	July. Francs.	August. Francs.	September. Francs.
1066·70	2790·53	2236·99	2282·13	2227·50	2202·39

Notwithstanding the decline of prices the cost of living is still twice as high as it was in the pre-war month in 1914. In July, 1921, the cost of living was still 114 and in August 109 per cent in excess of the pre-war cost.

Italy, Germany, Finland.

It now remains to consider the figures of the European countries in the list in which the cost of living, in opposition to the general rule, has kept on advancing. The three most unfortunate countries figuring in the list are Italy, Germany, and Finland, whose respective afflictions may be gauged from the following statistics.

In Italy the upward trend is shown by the figures for the three cities of Rome, Milan, and Florence, figures indicating the percentage of increase in the weekly cost of food for a family of five persons since the first half of 1914 :—

	1920.	1921.	Increase in points.
Rome	(July) 218	(Sept.) 330	112
Milan	(July) 345	(Sept.) 445	100
Florence	(July) 315	(Aug.) 365	50

In Germany the enormous rise in the cost of living (as represented by the combined items of food, fuel, lighting, and rent) may be gauged by the rise over the pre-war level to 742 per cent in July, 1920, to 863 per cent in July, 1921, to 945 per cent in August, and to 962 per cent in September, in which month the cost of living was nearly ten times higher than in the days immediately preceding the war.

In Finland, however, the increase in the cost of living has been greater even than in Germany, for whilst in July, 1920, the increase in food prices had reached 882 per cent over the pre-war scale, in July, 1921, the increase actually reached 1,178 per cent; in other words, food cost nearly a dozen times more than in pre-war days. The striking increase in a short period is shown by the 136 points of a rise which took place between April and July, 1921.

The United States.

The trend of food prices in the United States is indicated by the index figures for July, 1920, and July, 1921, recording in the first case a rise of 115 per cent since 1915, and in the second case a subsidence of prices to 45 per cent above the price level of 1915. The mutation of things, however, is shown by the fact that the general level of food prices last July was higher than in June, and higher still in August than it was in July, inasmuch as in August the index figure of increase had advanced to 52 per cent, that is, 7 points over the July figure. Within the next month, however, there was a fall of 2 points.

Food Prices—General Summary.

Percentage increase in the retail prices of food in the various countries at the undermentioned dates, as compared with July, 1914 :—

Country.	Percentage Increase in Retail Food Prices since July, 1914.						
	July, 1916.	July, 1917.	July, 1918.	July, 1919.	July, 1920.	Latest figures available. Rise.	Date.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	1921.
United Kingdom ..	61	104	110	109	158	110*	October.
Foreign Countries:							
Belgium†	..	..	..	..	359	327	August.
Denmark	46	66	87	112	153	136	July.
Finland	..	..	..	..	882	1,178	July.
France (Paris)‡ ..	32	83	106	161	273	229	Sept.
,, (other towns)‡	42§	84§	144§	188§	288§	250	3rd Qr.
Germany¶	..	..	..	..	742	962	Sept.
Holland (Amst'dm)	..	42	76	110	117	84	Sept.
Italy (Rome)	11	37	103	106	218	330	Sept.
,, (Milan)	..	..	225	210	345	445	Sept.
,, (Florence) ..	47	84	198	178	313	365	August.
Norway	60	114‖	179	189	219	197	August.
Sweden‡	42	81	168	210	197	128	Sept.
Switzerland‡	..	..	..	138	145	109	August.
United States	9	43	64	86	115	50	Sept.
Overseas Dominions:							
Australia	30	26	31	47	94	61	July.
Canada	14	57	75	86	127	59	Sept.
India (Bombay) ..	..	..	..	..	88	77	August.
New Zealand	19	27	39	44	67	61	Sept.
South Africa	16	28	34	39	97	34	August.

* It should be noted that the figures for the United Kingdom relate to food only. For all items the increase is 120 per cent.

† The increases shown are for families of the lowest income class : in July the increase for all working-class families ranged from 305 to 310 per cent.

‡ Fuel and lighting are also included in these figures.

§ Figures for Third Quarter.

‖ Figures for August.

¶ Includes rent, fuel, and lighting.

The Overseas Dominions.

In Canada the rise in food prices reached a higher point than in any other of the British Dominions Overseas, inasmuch as the estimated weekly cost of food for a family of five (based on the returns of retail prices prevailing in 60 towns in the Dominion) figured in July, 1920, at 127 per cent over the pre-war level. In August, 1921, however, the index figure stood at 54 per cent, showing that prices had gone down by more than one half. As regards the cost of living as a whole (*i.e.*, including food, fuel, lighting, and rent collectively), it may be stated that the index figure for August, 1921, recorded 55 per cent over pre-war cost.

In South Africa the excess of food prices beyond pre-war prices amounted to 97 per cent in July, 1920, and to 39 and 34 per cent in

July and August, 1921, showing that a considerable lessening had taken place.

In Australia food prices in July, 1920, reached 94 per cent above pre-war prices, but by July, 1921, had come down to 61 per cent, a fall of 33 points.

In New Zealand the index figure of food prices in July, 1920, recorded 67 per cent above the pre-war figure. In July, 1921, the index figure recorded 63 per cent, and in August 61 per cent, showing that prices had declined by 6 points only.

In India (Bombay) food prices in July, 1920, figured at 88 per cent in excess of pre-war rates. In July, 1921, the excess had been reduced to 74 points, a decline of 14 points, but in August an increase of 3 points was recorded.

RISE IN COST OF LIVING

And Reduced Purchasing Power of the Sovereign Spent on Food in the United Kingdom during the War and Since.

(Illustrated from the changes in cost of the Board of Trade Standard Working-class Food Budget.)

	Cost of One Week's Food for Family.		Percentage Increase above July, 1914.		Purchasing Power of a Sovereign Spent on Food.	
	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.	Large Towns over 50,000.	Small Towns under 50,000.
	s. d.	s. d.	per cent.	per cent.	s. d.	s. d.
1904	22 6	22 6	—	—	—	—
1914—July	25 0	25 0	—	—	20 0	20 0
December 1st	29 3	28 9	17	15	17 0	17 5
1915—July 1st	33 9	32 6	35	30	14 10	15 4
December 1st	36 6	35 6	46	42	13 8	14 1
1916—January 1st	37 0	35 6	48	42	13 6	14 1
July 1st	41 3	39 3	65	57	12 1	12 8
October 1st	42 9	41 6	71	66	11 8	12 1
1917—January 1st	47 9	45 9	91	83	10 5	10 11
July 1st	52 3	49 9	109	99	9 6	10 0
October 1st	50 6	48 3	102	93	9 11	10 4
1918—January 1st	52 9	50 6	111	102	9 6	9 11
July 1st	53 6	51 6	114	106	9 5	9 8
October 1st	58 6	56 0	134	124	8 6	8 11
1919—January 1st	58 6	56 0	134	125	8 6	8 10
July 1st	53 6	51 6	114	105	9 5	9 9
October 1st	56 9	54 0	127	117	8 9	9 2
1920—January 1st	60 0	58 0	140	132	8 4	8 7
July 1st	65 6	63 9	162	155	7 7	7 10
October 1st	68 3	66 9	173	167	7 3	7 5
1921—January 1st	70 3	68 9	181	175	7 1	7 3
July 1st	55 6	54 9	122	119	9 0	9 1
October 1st	52 9	52 3	111	109	9 5	9 6

FAMILY GROCERY BILL

PURCHASING POWER OF £1 STERLING BASED

OF 21½LBS. GROCERIES (MADE UP AS

YEAR.	AVERAGE PRICE PER LB.				
	Bacon.	Butter.	Cheese.	Flour.	Lard.
	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
1882	7·16	15·52	6·47	1·75	6·47
1883	6·78	14·88	6·71	1·64	5·62
1884	6·01	14·34	6·71	1·45	4·66
1885	5·09	13·37	5·43	1·26	3·89
1886	5·06	12·58	5·39	1·12	3·78
1887	5·41	12·60	6·40	1·13	4·20
1888	5·60	12·34	5·74	1·17	5·03
1889	5·46	12·95	5·53	1·29	4·21
1890	5·03	12·38	5·39	1·19	3·89
1891	5·11	12·86	5·64	1·32	3·87
1892	5·84	13·21	5·80	1·18	4·39
1893	6·69	12·74	5·87	1·00	5·79
1894	5·34	11·61	5·70	0·85	4·41
1895	4·85	11·19	5·02	0·90	3·75
1896	4·37	11·58	5·09	1·00	2·89
1897	4·89	11·47	5·58	1·20	2·68
1898	4·96	11·35	5·24	1·39	3·24
1899	4·75	12·19	5·85	1·01	3·22
1900	5·74	12·21	6·10	1·04	4·02
1901	6·14	12·45	5·49	1·02	4·83
1902	6·55	12·20	5·92	1·09	5·80
1903	6·31	11·97	6·45	1·08	4·84
1904	5·53	11·81	5·37	1·13	4·00
1905	6·08	12·32	6·09	1·12	4·04
1906	6·64	12·82	6·55	1·09	4·89
1907	6·56	12·39	6·76	1·15	5·00
1908	6·15	13·08	6·68	1·29	4·99
1909	7·24	12·73	6·73	1·37	6·32
1910	8·19	12·87	6·56	1·23	6·83
1911	6·87	13·40	7·11	1·16	5·01
1912	7·21	13·95	7·47	1·24	5·77
1913	8·21	13·51	7·05	1·22	6·13
1914	8·10	13·88	7·53	1·29	5·84
1915	9·28	17·28	9·30	1·87	5·75
1916*.....	11·44	†14·30	11·39	2·10	8·50
1917*.....	15·90	†18·53	15·38	2·31	13·44
1918*.....	19·47	†18·70	16·40	1·89	16·54
1919*.....	21·34	†18·55	16·06	1·89	19·44
1920*.....	23·61	†21·76	18·35	2·78	19·01

NOTE.—Prices making up above figures are wholesale and mostly at port, *and are only for relative comparison.*

* In 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919 and 1920, the figures are based on the substitution of 1lb. Butter and 1lb. Margarine instead of 2lbs. Butter.

† This price represents the cost of ½lb. Butter and ½lb. Margarine.

FOR THIRTY-NINE YEARS.

ON COST OF AVERAGE WEEKLY FAMILY ORDER BELOW FROM C.W.S. OFFICIAL RECORDS):—

Average Price per Lb.			Cost of Average Weekly Family Order of 21½lbs.	Purchasing Power of £1 Sterling on same basis.	Year.
Oatmeal.	Sugar.	Tea.			
d.	d.	d.	d.	lb.	
1·43	3·11	21·55	90·32	57·13	 1882
1·54	2·96	21·55	86·54	59·62	 1883
1·44	2·37	21·02	79·20	65·15	 1884
1·40	2·13	20·46	72·16	71·51	 1885
1·29	1·95	19·84	67·25	76·73	 1886
1·13	1·83	19·71	67·77	76·14	 1887
1·12	2·05	19·57	70·81	72·87	 1888
1·24	2·36	19·26	72·01	71·66	 1889
1·20	1·90	17·72	66·37	77·75	 1890
1·36	1·94	17·42	69·26	74·65	 1891
1·37	2·00	17·44	69·61	74·13	 1892
1·25	2·20	17·28	68·69	75·12	 1893
1·12	1·80	17·00	60·63	85·11	 1894
1·10	1·61	16·87	58·38	88·39	 1895
1·03	1·66	16·60	59·48	86·75	 1896
1·12	1·45	16·37	61·47	83·94	 1897
1·23	1·49	16·17	63·85	80·81	 1898
1·09	1·55	15·86	61·00	84·59	 1899
1·12	1·60	16·94	63·69	81·02	 1900
1·19	1·73	17·26	65·18	79·16	 1901
1·73	1·61	16·89	66·50	77·60	 1902
1·20	1·75	16·63	65·37	78·94	 1903
1·19	1·97	17·87	65·39	78·91	 1904
1·17	2·17	16·98	67·56	76·37	 1905
1·18	1·83	15·42	67·28	76·69	 1906
1·34	1·92	15·54	67·82	76·09	 1907
1·33	1·86	15·65	70·21	73·49	 1908
1·29	1·82	15·13	71·79	71·88	 1909
1·16	2·03	15·45	72·38	71·29	 1910
1·25	2·05	15·81	71·00	72·67	 1911
1·44	2·08	15·85	74·28	69·46	 1912
1·36	1·69	15·77	72·45	71·22	 1913
1·44	2·28	16·14	76·65	67·32	 1914
1·98	3·16	21·26	99·06	52·09	 1915
2·12	4·31	25·18	107·13	48·16	.....*1916
3·80	4·83	28·82	132·63	38·90	.....*1917
3·57	5·81	29·34	137·99	37·39	.....*1918
3·58	6·30	28·00	141·65	36·43	.....*1919
3·90	9·88	30·75	177·95	28·95	.....*1920

Average Weekly Family Order is computed at: 1lb. Bacon, 2lbs. Butter, ½lb. Cheese, 12lbs. Flour, ½lb. Lard, 1lb. Oatmeal, 4lbs. Sugar, and ½lb. Tea.

For the six months ended June 21st, 1920, the average weekly cost figures at 165·92d.

THE LABOUR REPORT ON THE COST OF LIVING.

THE GOVERNMENT'S FIGURES CHALLENGED.

IN the Final Report issued last summer by the Joint Committee on the Cost of Living (composed of representatives of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, the Labour Party, the Co-operative Union, the Triple Alliance, and three Trades Union Federations) the Ministry of Labour's figures relating to the cost of living are taken exception to in the following terms:—

"The Ministry of Labour's 'index number' is defective in at least three respects—it 'weights' rent and rates too heavily; it under-estimates the relative importance of clothing, and it attaches too little weight to the group of 'other items.' The result of over-weighting rent and rates and under-weighting clothing and 'other items' is to obtain a cost of living 'index number' which is not based on the actual facts of working-class expenditure."

And as the result of a careful investigation the Joint Committee declare that the cost of living has increased to a considerably greater degree than the official figures indicate; that is to say,.. instead of the cost of living having (by September 20th, 1920) increased by 161 per cent over the pre-war cost, it had actually increased by 189 per cent or 28 points more than the Ministry of Labour had stated. The following figures show the differences in detail:—

PERCENTAGE PRICE INCREASES, JULY, 1914—SEPTEMBER, 1920.

Group of Items.	Ministry of Labour.	Joint Committee on Cost of Living.
Food	167	176
Clothing	330	313
Rent and Rates ..	35	43
Fuel and Light ..	135	198
Other items	130	270
All items	161	189

Hence it follows that if the Ministry of Labour understated the rise in the cost of living, it has also overstated the subsequent fall.

With regard to the Ministry of Labour's "weights" or percentages of the various groups of items, it should be stated that they are calculated upon the basis of the enquiry made by the Board of Trade in 1904, whereas those of the Joint Committee are based on an examination of the percentages of expenditure on post-war budgets on the ground that "since 1904 there have been changes in working-class habits which have been reflected in the character of working-class expenditure."

Herewith are the figures showing the "weights" based upon the Committee's investigation, and the "weights" of the Ministry of Labour.

	Committee on Cost of Living.	Ministry of Labour.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Food	54·41	60
*Clothing	19·51	12
Rent and Rates ..	6·84	16
Fuel and Light ..	6·34	8
Other items	14·90	4
	100·0	100·0

* The committee's "weight" for clothing includes expenditure on boot repairs.

On the basis of its ascertained percentages of the various groups of items entering into the cost of living the Committee then constructed a family budget for July, 1914, which worked out at a cost of £2. 0s. 1d., as compared with £5. 15s. 9d. for the family budget of 1920.

It is stated that the budget forms were sent in large numbers to trade unionists, members of the Workers' Educational Association, Adult Schools, and Women's Co-operative Guilds, that budgets were derived from all parts of the Kingdom, and that the "average family" was found to consist of 5·2 persons, of whom 1·6 persons were

wage-earners, whereas the "standard family" of the Sumner Committee numbered 5·6 persons.

The Joint Committee further stated :— "For retail prices we have relied largely upon the very full information supplied by the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Co-operative Union Limited, supplemented, when possible, by information from other sources. The lists of prices sent in by the Co-operative Union relate to 344 retail co-operative stores and cover practically every county in England, Scotland, and Wales. They include not only food prices, but prices of clothing, furniture, household renewals, fuel, and cleaning materials. We have also examined the grocery books and household accounts covering the period from 1914 to 1920, sent us by trade unionists and others interested in our investigations."

THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR'S REPLY.

In the *Labour Gazette* for September, 1921, the Ministry of Labour replied to the Joint Committee's criticism of the Ministry's figures by analysing and criticising those of the Joint Committee, and by declaring that "miscalculations by the Committee rather than understatements by this department are responsible for the discrepancies between the results of the respective calculations." The Joint Committee is charged with under-estimating the pre-war cost of various food items as well as the pre-war cost of coal, and also with making the unwarrantable assumption that the maximum increase in rents permissible under the Act of July, 1920, had in all cases been actually put into operation by September of that year. As regards the "other items group" the Joint Committee are charged with obtaining the high percentage of increase by comparing family expenditure on a particular group of items in 1920, as computed by the Committee, with an estimate made by a different Committee, of family expenditure on differently constituted and non-comparable items in 1914. And finally the Joint Committee's criticisms of the Ministry of Labour's "weights" are declared to be "due in part to a misunderstanding of the purpose and correct use of 'weights' in the calculation of index numbers, and in part to a failure to appreciate the purpose which the Department's index number is designed to serve as a measure of the increase in the cost of maintaining a *pre-war* standard of living."

To what extent the Ministry of Labour has really scored in this controversy it is hardly possible to judge at this stage. But it is safe to say, however, that the dissatisfaction with regard to the Ministry of Labour's figures of increase in the cost of living is just as wide-spread as ever, and that the need for the adoption of a new "index number" by the Ministry of Labour has been clearly shown.

THE CONSUMERS' REMEDY.

THE large and growing co-operative movement is the only real remedy which the consumer has at present against exploitation by private industry.

It is not our purpose at present to attempt to estimate the relative positions which will be occupied by publicly-owned services and co-operative enterprises in the future, but we are satisfied that in the interests of the whole body of consumers, the extension of both public ownership and voluntary co-operation is greatly to be desired.

We regret that the Ministry of Health has not shown greater sympathy with the Building Guilds and given local authorities greater encouragement to utilise the services of the Guilds for housing schemes. In so far as the Guilds eliminate private contractors and produce better and cheaper houses, they will prepare the way for a more comprehensive scheme based on public ownership, whilst they will provide the workers with a necessary experience in management and equip them with a knowledge of the problems involved in the control of industry.—From "*The Joint Committee's Report on the Cost of Living.*"

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS.

From the Ministry of Agriculture's Report for England and Wales, 1920.

THE following table shows in percentages the variations in the prices of farm produce during the last six years as compared with the average of the prices of the three years 1911–13. The prices are for average quality in each case.

	Percentage Increase or Decrease on 1911–13.					
	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.
Cattle	+ 36	+ 58	+ 105	+ 111	+ 132	+ 163
Milk	+ 17	+ 57	+ 91	+ 151	+ 200	+ 203
Sheep	+ 30	+ 57	+ 97	+ 110	+ 130	+ 187
Pigs	+ 29	+ 67	+ 126	+ 166	+ 176	+ 230
Hay	+ 6	+ 52	+ 57	+ 87	+ 157	+ 192
Wheat	+ 62	+ 79	+ 132	+ 123	+ 123	+ 147
Barley	+ 31	+ 88	+ 128	+ 108	+ 167	+ 215
Potatoes	+ 9	+ 88	+ 137	+ 79	+ 135	+ 206
Poultry and Eggs	+ 17	+ 44	+ 83	+ 184	+ 159	+ 165
Fruit	— 5	+ 38	+ 54	+ 311	+ 218	+ 279
Wool	+ 59	+ 46	+ 62	+ 74	+ 208	+ 253
Butter	+ 17	+ 36	+ 77	+ 109	+ 115	+ 199
Oats	+ 52	+ 68	+ 151	+ 149	+ 164	+ 187
Hops	— 32	— 19	— 9	+ 93	+ 113	+ 105
Cheese	+ 24	+ 49	+ 103	+ 133	+ 169	+ 140
Beans and Peas	+ 41	+ 70	+ 170	+ 377	+ 219	+ 188
Vegetables	+ 24	+ 54	+ 138	+ 157	+ 157	+ 119

It will be seen that there has been a more or less continuous rise over the whole period in the case of almost all produce, the only articles which on the average were sold at lower prices in 1920 as compared with 1919 being hops, cheese, beans and peas, and vegetables.

PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AS COMPARED WITH THE THREE YEARS 1911–13.

Year	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Percentage increase	1	27	60	101	132	158	192

MILK PRODUCTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	Estimated Annual Yield per Cow in Milk.	Annual Production, less Milk used for Calf-rearing.
	Gallons.	Million Gallons.
1909–13	560	1,231
1914	575	1,253
1915	550	1,241
1916	525	1,164
1917	495	1,086
1918	436	955
1919	470	1,085
1920	525	1,100

The price of milk was controlled under the Milk (Winter Prices) Order until February 1st, 1920, the maximum price to the farmer during January being 3s. 3d. per gallon, excluding cost of railway transport. For a few weeks after decontrol most producers received 2s. 11d. per gallon, but about the middle of February the price was reduced generally to 2s. 7d. per gallon. The summer prices of milk to London ranged from 1s. 4½d. per gallon for May to 1s. 9½d. for September. For the six winter months the contract prices ranged from 2s. 2d. per gallon for October, 1920, to 2s. 9d. for February, 1921, and 2s. 4d. for March. The average being 2s. 6½d. per gallon for the six months.

BUTTER.

According to estimates made by the Ministry of Food the total consumption of butter in the United Kingdom in 1920 was 196,000 tons, as compared with 180,000 tons in 1919. Of the total quantity 60 per cent or about 118,000 tons was estimated to have been home produced, against about 104,000 tons in 1919. The maximum price of British butter for the greater part of January was 2s. 3d. per lb. for butter sold in bulk, and 2s. 5d. per lb. after January 26th, but all control was removed on February 1st. Prices rose at once to 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. per lb. at most markets, and the average price over a large number of markets during February was 3s. 10d. per lb. The minimum average price, 2s. 11d., was reached in June, and after that date there was a continuous rise until the end of the year, the average price in December being 4s. 4½d. per lb. Imported butter was fully controlled throughout the year, the annual average wholesale price being about 2s. 8d. per lb. against an average at provincial markets of 3s. 7d. per lb. for first quality British.

Cheese.

British cheese manufactured after January 31st was not purchased by the Ministry of Food, but was left to find its natural market without restriction of price.

At the cheese fairs, which were reopened during February, home produce was very dear, but a rapid fall in price followed, and first quality Cheshire cheese averaged 175s. per cwt. in June. In the last six months of the year British cheese became dearer, and in December Cheshire cheese at the fairs averaged 224s. per cwt. Imported cheese was controlled throughout the year, and was issued to the trade at 163s. 4d. per cwt. The Ministry of Food estimated that the total consumption of cheese in the United Kingdom during 1920 was 178,000 tons, of which 26 per cent or about 46,000 tons was home produced, against a total consumption of 145,000 tons in 1919, of which about 30 per cent or 43,500 tons was British cheese.

Prices and Supplies of Potatoes.

Owing to the poor crop of potatoes in 1919, when the total production in Great Britain was only 3,565,000 tons, supplies of potatoes during the first half of 1920 were very small. Control of prices was, in consequence, re-imposed on March 20th, the maximum price to growers being £12. 15s. 0d. per ton f.o.r. to the end of March, with a fortnightly advance of 5s. until the end of May.

Supplies were, however, much more plentiful when the crop from the large acreage of 1920 became available, and with prospects of an ample supply throughout the season prices dropped. The total production in Great Britain in 1920 was 4,388,000 tons. First quality King Edwards sold in September at an average of £12. 7s. 6d. per ton, and Arran Chiefs at £10. 7s. 0d. per ton. A fair proportion of the crop was probably sold at about this level, but in the spring of 1921 a fall occurred.

The larger production of potatoes in 1920 compared with 1919 was, as regards England and Wales, wholly due to the increased area under crop, the yield per acre being practically the same, so that potato-growing was much less profitable in 1920 than in the previous year.

Eggs.

Imports of eggs into the United Kingdom in 1920 amounted to 848 millions, against 677 millions in 1919. Practically the whole of these imports were used in Great Britain, while in addition very large supplies were received from Ireland, with the result that the total supply of imported eggs in Great Britain in 1920 was over 1,900 millions, of an estimated value of £27,000,000.

[As regards British eggs, the average price over all markets during December, 1920, was 5s. 3½d. per dozen, or 1½d. per dozen dearer than in December, 1919. Control was removed in the spring of 1921.]

Supply of Meat in the United Kingdom.

(*In thousands of tons.*)

	Home Produced.	Imported.	Total.
Beef and Veal—			
1909–10 to 1913–14	750	470	1,220
1919–20	720	450	1,170
Mutton and Lamb—			
1909–10 to 1913–14	320	270	590
1919–20	240	300	540
Pig-meat—			
1909–10 to 1913–14	380	300	680
1919–20	240	410	650

The home supply of beef and veal has declined owing to the smaller average weight to which stock have been fed in recent years, but in 1919-20 this was compensated for to some extent by the increased number of animals slaughtered. The reduction in the supply of mutton, on the other hand, is due very largely to the materially smaller size of the flocks kept in recent years.

Exports of Wheat from the Principal Producing Countries in 1919–20 as compared with the Average of the Five Years before the War.

Country.	Average Net Export, 1909–10 to 1913–14.	Net Export, 1919–20.
	Millions of Quarters.	Millions of Quarters.
United States	13·4	29·0
Canada	11·8	11·5
Argentina	10·4	33·0
Australia	6·6	12·4
India	6·2	·3
Total	48·4	86·2
Russia	20·5	—
Rumania	6·7	—
Hungary	5·1	—
Bulgaria	1·4	—
Other Countries	·9	—
Total	83·0	86·2

In the case of barley, the cessation of exports from Russia and South-east Europe has resulted in a shortage of feeding barley, and our imports in 1919–20 were over two million quarters less than the average of 1909–10 to 1913–14.

Supply of Home-grown and Imported Cereals in each Cereal year (September to August) in the United Kingdom.

The following table gives the total supplies, both home-grown and imported, of the principal cereals in the last six years, together with the average of the five years before the war :—

	Average 1909–10 to 1913–14.	1914–15.	1915–16.	1916–17.	1917–18.	1918–19.	1919–20.
	Thou'ds of Qrs.	Thou'ds of Qrs.	Thou'ds of Qrs.	Thou'ds of Qrs.	Thou'ds of Qrs.	Thou'ds of Qrs.	Thou'ds of Qrs.
Wheat	34,810	32,882	35,263	36,213	26,339	34,155	35,980
Barley	13,736	11,448	10,841	9,360	9,530	10,430	10,980
Oats	27,654	26,183	27,086	25,245	29,721	33,853	28,355
Maize	9,320	10,336	8,621	8,562	3,655	2,688	6,532
Beans	1,329	1,505	1,200	1,156	567	1,013	1,113
Peas	919	562	504	610	702	689	638
	Thou'ds of Cwts.	Thou'ds of Cwts.	Thou'ds of Cwts.	Thou'ds of Cwts.	Thou'ds of Cwts.	Thou'ds of Cwts.	Thou'ds of Cwts.
Wheat offals	33,250	37,810	37,180	33,990	15,230	24,510	29,620

PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE following particulars given in an authoritative article in the November (1921) issue of the *Labour Monthly* serve to indicate the economic position of the United States :—

The United States has only 6 per cent of the world's population, and 7 per cent of the world's land, yet the country produces :—

20 per cent of the world's gold,
25 per cent of the world's wheat,
40 per cent of the world's iron and steel,
40 per cent of the world's lead,
40 per cent of the world's silver,
50 per cent of the world's zinc,
52 per cent of the world's coal,
60 per cent of the world's aluminium,
60 per cent of the world's copper,
60 per cent of the world's cotton,
66 per cent of the world's oil,
75 per cent of the world's corn,
85 per cent of the world's automobiles.

Perhaps the most striking of the recent economic phenomena in the United States is the growth of the automobile industry. The industry had its start at the time that the United States was just beginning to forge to the front—in the years following the Spanish war (1898). In 1900 there were 13,524 automobiles in the country, 5,000 being produced that year. By 1910 the number of cars had risen to 444,349 with an annual production of 178,557. In 1920 the annual production had grown to 2,200,000, and the total number of cars in the country had increased to 9,118,000. At the present time it is estimated that there are over ten millions of motor cars and trucks in use in the United States—or 90 per cent of those used throughout the world. The existing plant equipment is capable of producing 2,500,000 cars each year. This huge industry and this immense capital equipment have been created during the past twenty-five years.

Agricultural Returns of England and Wales, 1921.

Preliminary Statement of Acreage under Crops and Grass and Numbers of Live Stock in England and Wales on June 4th, 1921.

Estimate of Acreage under Crops in England and Wales in 1921, and Comparison with 1920.

Distribution.	1921.	1920.	Increase (+) Decrease (−)	
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Per cent.
Arable land	11,618,000	12,020,000	−402,000	3·3
Permanent Grass	14,521,000	14,487,000	+ 34,000	0·2
Total Acreage under all Crops and Grass	26,139,000	26,507,000	−368,000	1·4
*Rough Grazings	4,555,000	4,162,000	+393,000	9·4

* Mountain Heath, Moor, Down, and other rough land used for grazing.

Estimate of Acreage under Corn and Pulse Crops in England and Wales in 1921, and Comparison with 1920.

Distribution.	1921.	1920.	Increase (+) Decrease (−)	
Wheat	1,978,000	1,875,000	+103,000	5·5
Barley	1,435,000	1,637,000	−202,000	12·3
Oats	2,145,000	2,272,000	−127,000	5·6
Mixed Corn	136,400	147,500	− 11,100	7·5
Rye	79,400	95,600	− 16,200	16·9
Beans	246,600	257,100	− 10,500	4·1
Peas	142,400	165,700	− 23,300	14·1

The area occupied by potatoes has also again increased, and at 557,000 acres, is the largest recorded with the exception of that of 1918.

Estimate of Live Stock in England and Wales in 1921, and Comparison with 1919.

	1921.	1920.	Per cent.	
Horses	1,384,400	1,365,700	Increase	18,700= 1·4
Cattle	5,515,600	5,546,800	Decrease	31,200= 0·6
Sheep	13,806,200	13,382,700	Increase	423,500= 3·2
Pigs	2,505,700	1,993,900	Increase	511,800=25·7

Imports of Agricultural

Quantities and Values of the under

Imported into the United Kingdom in each

Description.		Quantities.					
		1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.
		Thous'ds.	Thous'ds.	Thous'ds.	Thous'ds.	Thous'ds.	Thous'ds.
Beef	Cwts.	10,441	8,734	7,724	9,471	9,127	10,668
Mutton	,,	4,767	3,680	2,620	2,126	4,277	6,623
Pork	,,	76	335	184	111	160	526
Bacon	,,	6,523	7,436	6,568	10,474	8,281	5,612
Hams	,,	1,480	1,555	1,180	1,555	1,813	324
Meat, unenumerated	,,	1,085	957	976	974	1,633	271
Total, Dead Meat	,,	24,672	22,697	19,252	24,711	25,291	24,024
Wheat	,,	88,668	100,070	91,435	57,948	71,443	109,404
Flour	,,	10,482	9,960	14,340	26,360	17,711	11,970
Total of Wheat and Flour (in equivalent weight of grain)	,,	103,226	113,904	111,351	94,558	96,042	126,029
Barley	,,	12,292	15,819	9,138	5,025	16,644	12,668
Oats	,,	15,640	12,503	12,622	10,983	6,711	6,082
Maize	,,	48,581	34,159	25,009	14,490	16,861	33,840
Rye	,,	740	1,016	2,567	1,930	933	1,042
Beans (other than Haricot)	,,	1,143	1,111	905	439	731	790
Beans (Haricot)	,,	800	1,078	2,239	2,214	1,089	490
Peas (including Split Peas)	,,	1,100	992	1,285	2,181	1,137	583
Oatmeal*	,,	890	973	2,291	2,908	1,375	675
Maize Meal	,,	247	419	1,667	1,448	2,314	1,751
Other Meals‖	,,	3,500	816	530	1,102	1,274	3,163
Butter	,,	3,854	2,175	1,807	1,579	1,560	1,716
Margarine	,,	2,052	2,753	1,808	302	459	898
Cheese	,,	2,727	2,604	2,946	2,357	2,118	2,756
Milk condensed	,,	1,578	1,708	1,636	2,568	3,179	1,978
,, powder	,,	51	23	55	90	116	60
,, and Cream (fresh or preserved, other than condensed)	,,	41	30	13	50	53	100
Eggs	No.	1,229,525	792,765	590,688	318,770	677,327	848,432
Poultry, live	,,	19	†	†	†	1	2
,, dead	Cwts.	156	137	128	35	148	94
Rabbits, dead	,,	604	650	322	517	256	526
Lard	,,	2,210	1,934	1,500	2,760	2,178	1,445
Apples	,,	3,344	2,658	890	410	2,967	4,540
Cherries	,,	27	14	2	†	19	56
Grapes	,,	555	798	205	415	565	593
Pears	,,	211	161	60	2	373	667
Plums	,,	138	62	47	—	88	302
Onions	Bushels	7,478	6,843	4,748	4,343	6,932	7,980
Potatoes	Cwts.	2,171	1,788	1,599	1,016	989	5,210
Tomatoes	,,	1,395	1,649	519	516	1,306	1,617
Cotton-seed Cake	Tons	217	192	132	3	199	111
Linseed Cake	,,	67	74	77	8	71	44
Other Oil Cakes	,,	141	18	4	—	8	72
Total Oil Cakes	,,	425	284	213	11	278	227

* Including groats and rolled oats.

† Less than 500.

Produce and Requirements.

mentioned kinds of Agricultural Produce of the Years from 1915 to 1920 inclusive.

Description.	Values (in Thousands of £).					
	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.
Beef	36,339	32,669	35,349	52,249	52,053	51,864
Mutton	14,113	13,692	10,736	9,566	19,509	28,075
Pork	1,010	1,303	899	763	1,076	3,854
Bacon	25,441	34,382	41,409	90,382	73,592	50,367
Hams	5,280	6,841	7,361	13,029	16,090	2,958
Meat, unenumerated	3,053	3,310	5,159	6,193	10,880	1,808
Total, Dead Meat	85,236	92,197	100,913	172,182	173,200	138,926
Wheat	57,306	72,013	84,507	53,098	68,423	146,845
Flour	8,311	8,568	18,470	35,683	25,729	21,246
Total of Wheat and Flour (in equivalent weight of grain)	65,617	80,581	102,977	88,781	94,152	168,091
Barley	6,030	10,411	8,968	5,426	17,837	14,459
Oats	8,489	6,545	11,558	11,529	6,724	5,613
Maize	18,902	19,898	20,386	13,679	13,722	27,371
Rye	410	679	2,858	1,776	907	1,185
Beans (other than Haricot)	534	687	884	642	875	1,010
Beans (Haricot)	751	1,239	5,313	4,970	2,183	680
Peas (including Split Peas)	872	1,291	2,473	5,406	2,584	1,058
Oatmeal*	879	987	3,865	4,824	2,320	1,316
Maize Meal	113	247	1,969	1,631	2,252	1,974
Other Meals‖	1,135	402	417	1,400	1,088	2,419
Butter	27,023	18,964	18,896	19,770	19,854	24,634
Margarine	5,751	8,983	7,778	1,563	2,230	5,514
Cheese	11,107	12,946	19,462	15,906	15,171	20,657
Milk, condensed	3,358	5,000	6,321	12,531	15,899	11,830
,, powder	130	73	267	582	751	394
,, and Cream (fresh or preserved, other than condensed)	106	91	69	360	440	944
Eggs	6,123	4,742	5,067	4,622	8,613	11,579
Poultry, live	1	†	†	†	†	1
,, dead	654	636	768	287	1,528	872
Rabbits, ,,	914	1,186	704	1,206	661	1,598
Lard	5,783	6,983	8,942	21,064	18,673	12,776
Apples	2,322	2,741	1,122	904	6,246	9,325
Cherries	50	28	5	†	66	237
Grapes	711	1,099	580	1,831	1,768	2,081
Pears	259	242	114	8	844	2,044
Plums	193	113	116	—	263	1,163
Onions	1,790	2,062	2,664	3,785	3,561	3,303
Potatoes	1,188	1,519	1,500	1,044	1,548	5,175
Tomatoes	1,525	1,946	1,158	2,078	3,691	4,560
Cotton-seed Cake	1,614	2,018	2,093	46	4,013	1,629
Linseed Cake	652	937	1,484	164	1,659	954
Other Oil Cakes	1,007	161	61	—	169	1,067
Total Oil Cakes	3,273	3,116	3,638	210	5,821	3,650

‖ Total of barley meal and flour, pearled barley, rye meal and flour, buckwheat meal and flour, bran and pollard, sharps and middlings, unenumerated grain offals and flour and meal unenumerated.

IS THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE A FAILURE?

By Prof. James Long.

FOR a long series of years there has been no material progress in British agriculture, and although it is impossible to exonerate a considerable body of the more careless and indifferent farmers from their share in our failure, it is evident to me as an observer, and as one who long participated in the struggle for freedom of action, that the chief culprit is the Government. The administration of to-day has proved itself as untrustworthy as its predecessors, whose actions have never corresponded with their promises.

Since 1875 farmers have been constantly fighting for liberty to cultivate their land without restriction—so long as they maintained it in good condition—and for fixity of tenure so long as they pay their rent; but they have never obtained what they have asked for. The result has been, and will continue to be, that they decline to invest their capital in the improvement of another man's property while he retains the power to increase the rent. This is the great secret of failure, and it is obvious that so long as it is the chief cause of dissatisfaction, home production will not increase, while our food supply will remain insecure. Promises made in the days of our greatest distress as a nation have been broken as freely as thousands of our people have been broken on the wheel of over-taxation by a guilty Government.

Neglect of Uncultivated Land.

One of the most astonishing features of past legislation has been the almost criminal neglect of the uncultivated and waste land of which we possess some millions of acres. In a country with a limited area, and a large population, it might be supposed that every effort would be made to convert this land from its present position to one of utility—if only to assist in the maintenance of the home food supply of the people. If the question were a matter of doubt something might be done in order to obtain a solution, but this is not the case. Many farmers have themselves solved the problem and been handsomely rewarded for their labour and the expenditure of their capital. So far as relates to grass lands which are now suffering from long years of neglect—and they probably extend to one half the grass area of England and Wales—there has been the same failure to help in their regeneration. The result is that the average yield of hay, always a poor one, has fallen since the decade 1903-12 from 23½ cwt. per acre to 21¾ cwt. in the years 1910-19.

The Board of Agriculture was established with the object of improving our production and increasing our prosperity, but I find no data which enable me to refer to any branch of our agricultural

system which has shown signs of permanent improvement, except what has been undertaken under the advice of the Development Commission. As I well remember the establishment of the Board, and watched the action of each of its Ministers—and as I have recognised the condition of our crops and stock during the same period—I am led to express the opinion that what progress has been made is confined to live stock, and is the result of the efforts of our leading farmers, and the unofficial organisations which represent the agricultural community.

The Failure of Technical Education and Why.

Nearly thirty years ago money was allocated to the County Councils for the conduct of a system of technical education. It so happens that (in what followed) I was engaged as a pioneer lecturer, for in those days there were few eligible men who had passed through a course of practical and scientific instruction. We were told that this movement would place the farmers on a firm foundation, and that British agriculture would in due time become a flourishing industry. The results have not been in accordance with this prophecy. Colleges were established in various parts of the country for the benefit of the sons of farmers and of others who intended to make agriculture their vocation. I had already travelled in foreign countries in search of information, and was led to hope that the cost of a course of instruction in this country would correspond with the cost in those schools and colleges which I visited. On the contrary the fees charged were much higher than the average farmer could pay, nor even now is there any possibility of his sons obtaining a suitable education at a less important institution. When the technical education movement commenced it was assumed that so far as it related to agriculture it was intended for the instruction of lads who belonged to the average agricultural class. I have visited the Colleges of Guelph in Ontario, the important University of Wisconsin, and the chief colleges in France with examples of its farm schools, and in addition colleges and schools in Norway, Sweden, and Italy, and the best farm schools in Denmark and Switzerland. I have therefore every reason to believe that although the fees in each case were much lower than in similar cases in England, with one or two minor exceptions, the practical side of the courses of instruction are much superior, while most of the students go direct to the land. I have seldom met an English farmer who has passed through an agricultural college, but I have met men in much larger numbers who have become instructors or who are holding other official positions. In face of the many capable men on the staffs of the colleges it would be ungenerous to suggest that the instruction given has failed, although the original scheme can be judged by its results. If in the course of more than a quarter of a century the courses of scientific training which the nation has subvented, and which has been extended by the conduct of

experimental work, the appointment of county instructors, dairy schools, and itinerant lectures, has not effected results of a substantial character, what are we to expect in the future? I am able to remember the condition of farming for some years prior to the inauguration of the system of agricultural education, and the many technical classes which accompanied it, but though I was, and still am, an advocate for the highest type of instruction, I am disappointed. My belief is that the majority of the students who have received the benefit were not the men for whom it was intended. Such students would, in the majority of instances, have received a good education in any case, and one which would have equipped them with sufficient knowledge to enable them to work out for themselves such problems as arise in the vocation of farming.

It has been recently announced that the United States Government have decided to expend many millions upon Agricultural Education, but after all these years the Government grants made in this country in 1918–19 amounted to only £14,700, while the number of students who attended the courses in the chief colleges in 1914 was only 1,200. It is true that a slightly larger sum was handed to local authorities for Rural Instruction in Dairying, Poultry-keeping, and Farriery. The Norfolk County Council recently declined to appoint a county organiser at a salary of £1,000 a year, nor is it surprising when they recognise how little has been attempted and how little done in over a quarter of a century. Large farmers are not all in sympathy with ordinary officials who possess less practical knowledge than themselves, while highly-trained experienced men are not available as they should have been, had the work been sound from the first. The pre-war scheme to build a number of farm institutes or schools, was long delayed, but it is hoped that at last there may be half a dozen completed for work in the new year. So far, little is known about them outside the official circle, what course they will pursue, or what will be charged. In any case it is to be feared that the courses of instruction will not be so long or so complete as in the colleges. The chief point in this as in similar questions, is that Ministers of Agriculture have in the past subordinated the good of the industry to political expediency, and have not been prepared to jeopardise their political future by standing or falling by what they believe to be right.

British and Foreign Farmers Contrasted.

It is difficult to compare the farmers of this country with those of any other country in Europe, when we discuss the subjects of intelligence, practical knowledge, and theoretical education; and for this reason. The British farmer is the occupier of a much larger area of land, a breeder of stock of a more or less high character, and an employer of labour. In a large percentage of instances he has received a liberal education, is in possession of capital, has travelled abroad, and

enjoyed those amenities which fall in his way in this country, especially as a sportsman. In other agricultural countries in Europe, with such exceptions as fail to bear upon the question, the farmers are in a much smaller way of business, a large proportion owning their land and employing very little labour. Their education is of a limited character —they scarcely exhibit the sporting instinct, have never travelled in foreign countries, nor enjoyed any of the popular pleasures of life, but spend their days upon the land almost from the cradle to the grave in one long round of toil and Spartan self denial. The habits of life of many of these people I know almost as well as I know the habits of British farmers. It is with some reason that they are provided with cheap education in the farm schools of their country, and from which so many derive infinite benefit. I have never met an English small-holder who has been able to obtain similar assistance. As the old Board of Agriculture exercised by far the greatest measure of influence in the establishment of the modern educational movement, it cannot be exonerated. While one President of the Board after another signally failed to realise the needs of the times, partly because of his want of practical knowledge and imagination, and partly because he was compelled to rely on the permanent officials who, with few exceptions, possessed no more imagination than himself, the years have passed rapidly by, and we find ourselves in a scarcely better position than when the educational system commenced. This may be in some quarters denied, but my explanation is that the men of to-day are too young to make the comparison.

The Failure of British Dairying and the Causes Thereof.

Forty years of subsidised dairy instruction has not prevented the failure of British dairying. It is true that after many years of work in Scotland in recording the yield of milking cattle on a system which has not grown as it should have done, it has been officially supported in England, and is growing, with the result that we are gradually, but very slowly, breeding better stock. The recording system was adopted and suggested by the writer many years before it was known in either country, but I am aware of no other form of progress which has assisted in increasing the quality or quantity of milk or milk produce. What has been done for the more general improvement in the manufacture of butter through the dairy schools, was owing to the introduction of Danish and French methods, and the recognition of those principles which were the results of Danish, and to some extent, of American investigations. In cheese manufacture we have formulated principles which now replace the empirical practice of the past—but here again American investigations afforded us considerable help. From the earliest days of the Board of Agriculture I find no record of any material assistance which has exercised marked influence in advancing the modern dairy movement. If it has contributed small sums of

money, it has not provided the motive power which one has usually expected to be associated with Government action. More attention has been devoted, and more money supplied, in relation to the strike of the miners, in a few weeks, than to the entire farming industry of the country in the whole course of the past twenty-five years. It is not only a question of supplying ourselves with abundance of food of high quality, of producing more cattle, and of developing our vast resources in land, but of maintaining the farmer and the farm workman in such a condition of prosperity which will reflect on the whole country.

The Difficulty of Stock Selling.

One of the difficulties against which farmers contend is that of selling their stock. It might be supposed that this would be easily settled by the laws of supply and demand, but it is not. There are many markets in the country which are notoriously bad, and I quote a case in point. A farmer friend, who is a prosperous man, lives within three miles of a market town with an unusually good railway junction. He is unable to obtain the value of his stock in this market and, in consequence, he sends it some eighty miles away into another county, or 200 miles to a market in the Midlands. His personal expenses in addition to the railway charges for trucks are considerable, as he attends these markets himself, and is obliged to arrive on the previous night—and yet he obtains a substantial profit and the pleasure of each trip. What has been done to mitigate the losses in cases of this kind, where rings are formed against the seller? I do not believe in the legality of these combinations to fleece the farmer, but it appears to me, on the basis of common sense, that they are nefarious, and that it is the duty of a department which exists solely in the interest of agriculture that they should be watched and destroyed.

The Position of the Smallholder.

I approach another question which is equally important—and especially so in view of the gradual extension of the Small Holding System. It appears to me to be desirable that the small cultivator should be placed in a position in which he can sell his produce direct to the consumer. The markets in our country towns have been, in most instances, abolished, with the result that the men who ought to supply them are unable to do so. On the contrary, they are compelled to buy all their requirements, like the public at large, from shopkeepers, who deal chiefly in foreign productions. If they send their goods to salesmen in the large cities they are inevitably losers, and are compelled to take the prices remitted, after the deduction of commission and carriage. By this system the consumer obtains some foods which are no longer fresh, and is compelled to pay higher prices for them. I am aware that as small farmers prevail in continental countries, they sell all they produce in the market-place in their nearest town. An

English farmer of my acquaintance (the son of a labourer), who started with five acres of land, has built up an excellent business by taking his produce to a market town eleven miles away—selling it himself and bringing home the money. If this plan were possible in all districts, the small holder would soon become a great asset in the country. As the Government, through its special ministry, has never (so far as I am aware) considered this question, there is no more to be said so far as it is concerned, for it barely touches the average farmer who is so extensively engaged in the cultivation of corn and the breeding of cattle and sheep, to trouble his head about the minor products of the farm which mean so much to the small holder.

The Waste with Regard to Rough Grazing Land.

One of the most glaring failures of past governments which reflects on past Ministers of Agriculture is the condition of our "rough grazing" land, a term which is used in the Report on the Census of Production in Great Britain dealing with the year 1908. In that year the total net imports amounted in value to 178 millions, and the total home products grown on the farm to 151 millions, showing a total consumption of 329 millions. The area of land from which this home produce was obtained was 47¾ million acres, and the gross output the miserably poor sum of £3. 3s. 1d. per acre, or on the purely agricultural land which excludes moorlands and rough grazing the still poor figure of £4. 10s. The woodlands returned 6s. per acre, and the 12¾ million acres of rough grazing were estimated to have yielded 10s. to 12s. per acre. I do not propose to question these figures, but making every allowance for the natural poverty of much of this land, I regard them as ridiculously small. I know sufficient of those portions of our hill and downlands in various counties of England which have been completely changed in their character by cultivation, to induce me to believe that at least four millions of acres can be improved in a similar way. These facts are now known to the Ministry, and I cannot therefore conceive any Minister, or the permanent advisers of any Minister, who knows anything about the subject, and the vast importance of its cultivation to the nation, permitting a single day to pass without making a supreme effort to deal with it. I do not speak on this vital question without personal knowledge. Before the war I visited a number of counties and was enabled to see how some advanced farmers had effected such marvellous changes. These facts were made known at the time, and none could be more surprising—but there the matter stops, and we are travelling on in the same indifferent way as though no Government Department existed. We need a modern Peter the Hermit to preach a crusade under this banner, and to protest, through the sovereign will of the people, against this leviathan example of waste. As it stands, this land is practically worthless, nevertheless if it is too large a question for the powers that be—for it is the biggest

question of all—I suggest that it should be handed to the competent among the thousands of men waiting for holdings—and unable to get them, on condition that they bring it under cultivation—and thus make it their own property. It may be also pointed out that there is a vast area of waste and derelict land which is awaiting reclamation. It is undoubtedly true that the Development Commissioners possess certain powers in this direction, but these powers, like the money placed at their disposal, is limited ; while it is by no means satisfactory to find that all the Commissioners are not all so well qualified for their positions as they ought to be. If the work of the Commission means anything at all, it means that it should be of the highest practical character, but no experienced man can suppose that there are not thousands of men with much higher qualifications than are possessed by the majority of its members.

The Land Reclamation Failure.

Referring to the class of land which lends itself to reclamation, the last Report of the Commission briefly discusses soils adjoining the sea, and in the estuaries of rivers, sands, heaths, moor and bogland, and upland sheep walks, much of which is, or was, let at 1s. an acre. Of the latter they remark that where it now takes 1,500 acres to maintain one family, it might ultimately carry five. After the war the Ministry of Agriculture withdrew its plans for a large campaign in reclamation, while the Commissioners, after over ten years of their official existence, hold the opinion that the best plan is to accumulate information, and to embark on small experimental schemes which may throw light on the methods to be ultimately adopted. Eight years ago there were certain surveys made of land where the system of drainage was seriously faulty. The sums required to make the necessary improvements were so large that it was decided to carry out a reform in our legislation. This was done in the Act of 1918, but there still remains a multiplicity of difficulties. County councils, drainage boards, owners and claimants to properties, all have a hand in opposing schemes or causing delays, and so it is that, although the Development Fund was established by Parliament in 1909 with a first contribution of £2,900,000, what has been done in the intervening twelve years scarcely touches the fringe of the subject. So far as I am able to read between the lines the failure in relation to land reclamation is proclaimed to be due to the opposition of the various owners, of claimants to areas formed by accretions from the sea, or from estuaries, or of rights of pasturage or turbary, and finally by the exorbitant prices demanded immediately it is recognised that the Government desire to buy. Until legislation of a drastic character sweeps away these and similar difficulties under which landowners claim the very shores and the seaweed that is washed up on them, we can scarcely hope for any serious form of reclamation during the present century.

NATIONAL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

BEFORE dealing with the Budget estimates of 1921, it will be of advantage to take a retrospective glance at the actual revenue and expenditure of the State for the previous two years, which afford an indication of the trend of State finance and of the position of affairs previous to the Budget of 1921 being brought in.

REVENUE.

	Year ended March, 1921.	Budget Estimate.	Year ended March, 1920.
	£	£	£
Customs	134,003,000	150,000,000	149,360,000
Excise	199,782,000	198,650,000	133,663,000
Motor vehicle duties	7,073,000	4,500,000	—
Estate duties	47,729,000	45,000,000	40,904,000
Stamps	26,591,000	25,200,000	22,586,000
Land tax and house duty	2,550,000	2,500,000	2,640,000
Property and income tax	394,146,000	385,000,000	359,099,000
Excess profits	219,181,000	220,000,000	299,045,000
Corporation profits	650,000	3,000,000	—
Land values	20,000	500,000	663,000
Postal service	26,100,000		31,000,000
Telegraph	5,200,000	53,000,000	4,850,000
Telephone	8,200,000		8,300,000
Crown Lands	660,000	650,000	680,000
Sundry Loans :—			
Ordinary	991,352	744,000	1,004,000
Special	29,779,377	8,756,000	13,948,000
Miscellaneous :—			
Ordinary	25,389,142	18,000,000	16,050,000
Special	287,939,795	302,000,000	264,779,000
Total	1,425,984,666	1,418,300,000	1,339,571,000

EXPENDITURE.

Debt Permanent Charge	24,500,000	24,500,000	23,773,000
War Debt Interest	325,098,616	320,500,000	308,261,000
Road Improvement Fund	8,936,689	6,650,000	—
Local Taxation Accounts, &c.	10,785,503	10,818,000	10,746,000
Land Settlement	6,929,793	12,000,000	3,477,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services	1,796,276	1,730,000	1,948,000
Supply Services	817,381,000	807,904,000	1,317,568,000
Total	1,195,427,877	1,184,102,000	1,665,773,000

FLOATING DEBT.

	March 31, 1921	March 31, 1920.	Year's increase or decrease.
Ways and Means Advances :—	£	£	£
By Bank of England	—	—	—
By Public departments	154,489,000	204,887,000	−50,398,000
Treasury Bills	1,120,841,000	1,107,318,000	+13,523,000
Total Floating Debt	1,275,330,000	1,312,205,000	−36,875,000

Viewing the above totals certain things will be noted. First, the vast expenditure for the year ended March, 1920, which amounted nearly to £1,666,000,000, and the enormous revenue for the year ended March, 1921, which amounted practically to £1,426,000,000; second, the increase of revenue by £86,413,666 between the two years and the reduction of expenditure by £470,345,123; and, third, the excess of expenditure over revenue to the amount of £326,202,000 for the year ended March, 1920, and the excess of revenue over expenditure to the amount of £230,556,789 for the year ended March, 1921. This surplus was applied to the reduction of the National Debt; the reduction as regards specific items of the debt being shown as follows:—

	£
War Loans, Exchequer Bonds, &c., presented in payment of taxation	76,291,617
Exchequer Bonds paid off ..	28,212,643
External Debt	46,808,930
American Loan.....	59,229,221
Floating Debt (net).....	36,875,000

On the other hand, the issue of Treasury Bonds to the value of £22,584,223, and the sale of National Savings Certificates to the amount of £10,730,794 in excess of repayments signified that fresh debt had been incurred.

Meantime the burden of the war debt is brought home to us by the item of £325,098,616 paid as interest on the war debt during the year ended March 31st, 1921; the interest thus paid being over £12,000,000 more than the amount figuring as having been paid twelve months before. As for the supply services, though the expenditure thereon was reduced from £1,317,568,000 to £817,381,000, yet the huge amount of expenditure on the army, navy, and air forces, included in the latter item, indicates a burden approaching in gravity the amount of the interest paid on the war debt itself, and shows the mockery of an armed peace more costly than the wars of bygone times.

Finally, the glaring discrepancy between some of the estimates in the Budget and the actual amounts received or expended is revealed by a glance at figures. Thus the receipts from property and income tax were under-estimated by over £9,000,000; the corporation profits tax was estimated to bring in £3,000,000, and it actually brought in £650,000; land values, which were estimated to bring in half a million, only brought in £20,000; the postal, telegraph, and telephone services were estimated to bring in £53,000,000 and brought in £39,500,000; whilst the war debt interest was under-estimated by nearly 5 millions; the expenditure on the supply services was under-estimated by nearly 10 millions, and the expenditure on land settlement came to less than £7,000,000, whereas the amount estimated was £12,000,000. Some of the estimated items obviously proclaim guess work, and bad guess work at that.

The Budget of 1921.

The public alarm evoked by the terrific Budget of 1920 had the effect of bringing about a curtailment of figures in the Budget of 1921, in which the estimated revenue for 1921-22 figured at £1,058,150,000, and the estimated expenditure at £974,023,000, as compared with the estimates o £1,418,300,000 and £1,184,102,000 for revenue and expenditure respectively in the previous year's Budget. Thus the estimates, as compared with those of the previous year, show a reduction of £360,150,000 in revenue and £210,079,000 in expenditure. As regards the total surplus this is estimated at £176,922,000, as compared with the estimate of £234,198,000 in the preceding Budget, but owing to charges and liabilities not ascertained the surplus for 1921-22 may be about £103,000,000 in round figures.

The details of revenue and expenditure, as officially estimated for the year ending March, 1922, are as follows:—

Ordinary Receipts.	£	Expenditure.	£
Customs	126,800,000	National Debt Services :—	
Excise	196,200,000	Inside fixed debt charge	24,500,000
Motor tax	9,000,000	Outside fixed debt charge	320,500,000
Estate duties	48,000,000	Road Fund	8,400,000
Stamps	21,000,000	Local taxation, &c.	11,115,000
Land tax and house duty	2,500,000	Land settlement	5,000,000
Income tax (including supertax and mineral rights duty)	410,500,000	Other Consolidated Fund services	1,757,000
Excess profits duty	120,000,000	Supply services :—	
Corporation profits tax	30,000,000	Army	95,963,000
Post Office	60,000,000	Navy	80,479,000
Crown Lands	650,000	Air Force	16,940,000
Receipts for the sundry loans	12,000,000	Civil Services	327,503,000
Miscellaneous receipts	21,500,000	Customs and Excise and Inland Revenue Departments	14,701,000
		Post Office services	67,165,000
		Total	974,023,000
		Surplus	84,127,000
Total revenue	£1,058,150,000	Total	£1,058,150,000

Special Receipts and Expenditure.

War asset sales	£158,500,000
Liquidation of war commitments	£65,705,000
Surplus	92,795,000
Total	£158,500,000

N.B.—The estimated surplus of £84,127,000 was stated to be liable to reduction owing to contingencies (such as those connected with the coal stoppage, &c.) adversely affecting estimates both of revenue and expenditure to a degree not calculable at the time. The other estimated surplus of £92,795,000 was stated to be liable to reduction to an extent unascertained by reason of liabilities arising out of the liquidation war agreements for the control of railways.

Meanwhile the optimistic character of the estimated surpluses is indicated by the supplementary estimates of expenditure, such as those issued on June 12th and July 21st and amounting respectively, the one to £15,260,710, and the other to £62,210,497.

One of the most staggering items of expenditure is that of £193,382,000 for the army and navy and air force on a peace footing—an item which may be contrasted with the beggarly sum allocated for the housing of the people, and the false economy manifested in the matter of expenditure on education, land settlement, &c. And on the revenue side what are we to think of such an estimate as that of £30,000,000 for the Corporation Profits Tax, which was estimated at £3,000,000 for the previous year and brought in only £650,000. But let us pass on to the figures showing in detail the difference between the estimates for 1921-22 and those for 1920-21. In the following table the figures of increase or decrease show how the estimated receipts in 1921-22 from revenue and from borrowings to meet capital expenditure compare with the corresponding receipts in 1920-21 on the basis of existing taxation.

	Increase.	Decrease.
	£	£
Customs	—	7,203,000
Excise	—	3,582,000
Motor vehicles	1,927,000	—
Estate duties	271,000	—
Stamps	—	5,591,000
Land tax, &c.	—	50,000
Income tax	16,334,000	—
Excess P.D.	—	99,181,000
Corporation P'ts	29,350,000	—
Postal services	6,900,000	—
Telegraph ser.	—	200,000

	Increase. £	Decrease. £
Telephone ser...	3,800,000	—
Crown Lands ..	—	10,000
Sundry loans, ordinary	—	18,771,000
Miscellaneous, ordinary	—	3,889,000
Do. special..	—	129,440,000
Decrease from taxes	—	67,725,000
Do. in non-tax revenue ..	—	141,610,000
Total revenue decrease ..	—	209,335,000

The following table shows how the items of expenditure as estimated for 1921-22 compare with the corresponding estimates for 1920-21.

	Increase. £	Decrease. £
Road Improvement Fund ..	1,750,000	—
Payments to local taxation accounts, &c. ..	297,000	—
Land settlement	—	7,000,000
Other Consolidated Fund services	27,000	—
Army (including ordnance factories)	—	18,335,000
Navy	—	1,893,000
Air Force	—	2,646,000
Civil services ..	—	118,283,000
Customs and Excise and Inland Revenue depts.	4,233,000	—
Post Office services	17,476,000	—
Provision for supplementary estimates	—	20,000,000
Total supply services	—	139,448,000
Total decrease ..	—	144,374,000
Estimated expenditure chargeable against capital	106,500	—

Loans to Allies and Dominions.

The loans to Allies and Dominions as on the 31st March, 1921, are shown in the following table :—

	£	£
Australia	90,000,000	
New Zealand ..	29,600,000	
Canada	13,800,000	
South Africa ..	7,500,000	
Other dominions and colonies	3,100,000	
Total for Dominions		144,000,000
Russia 561,400,000		
France 557,000,000		
Italy 476,800,000		
Belgium : (a) War	94,400,000	
Do. (b) Reconstruction	9,000,000	
Serbia	22,100,000	
Portugal, Rumania, Greece, and other Allies	66,200,000	
Relief loans ..	16,700,000	
		£1,803,600,000
Grand total		£1,947,600,000

As Regards Taxation.

The Finance Act, 1921.

If the Finance Act of August 4th, 1921, with its sixty-five sections, imposes no new taxation, neither does it give any relief to the commonalty in the shape of taxation remissions, inasmuch as the new regulations concerning sparkling wines and cigars provide no benefit for the mass of the people, as may be seen from sections 3 and 4 of Part I., relating to Customs and Excise—

In lieu of the additional duty of Customs of five shillings per gallon and the further additional duty of Customs equal to 33⅓ per cent of the value of the wine payable on sparkling wine imported into Great Britain or Ireland, there shall, as from the tenth day of May, 1921, be charged, levied, and paid on all sparkling wine imported into Great Britain or Ireland an additional duty of twelve shillings and sixpence per gallon.

The additional duty of Customs imposed on cigars by section 9 of the Finance Act, 1920, shall be deemed to have ceased on the tenth day of May, 1921.

The sections dealing with Customs and Excise also include a provision for the repeal of duties on mechanical

lighters, besides various provisions and amendments and regulations of minor concern.

Income Tax.—With regard to Income Tax it is stated that

> Income Tax for the year 1921-22 shall be charged at the rate of six shillings, and the rates of supertax for that year shall, for the purposes of section 4 of the Income Tax Act, 1918, as amended by the Finance Act, 1920, be the same as those for the year 1920-21.
>
> All such enactments relating to income tax and supertax respectively as were in force with respect to the duties of income tax and supertax granted for the year 1920-21 shall have full force and effect with respect to the duties of income tax and supertax respectively granted by this Act.

Lands owned and occupied by charities, and profits of trades carried on by beneficiaries of charities are exempted from income tax and so also are superannuation funds and sewers.

Excess Profits Duty.—The termination thereof is dealt with in section 35, and the adjustment of excess profits duty over aggregate period of charge in section 36.

Death Duties.—Part IV. (Section 43) provides for the extension of section 14 of 63 and 64 Vict. c.7, to persons killed during the present state of disorder in Ireland, that is to say, "members of any of His Majesty's Forces, judges, magistrates, members of any police force in Ireland (including special constables) and members of His Majesty's Civil Service serving in Ireland."

And section 44 exempts from death duties objects of national, scientific, historic, and artistic interest if sold to national or public institutions.

National Debt.—Part V. of the Finance Act provides for a sinking fund with respect to the 3½ per cent Conversion Loan redeemable in 1961, the transfer of registered bonds (issued under the War Loan Acts, 1914 to 1919) by deed, &c., &c.

General.—In Part VI. it is enacted *inter alia* that interest on certain loans are not to be treated as profits for purposes of corporation profits tax; that deduction for mortgage interest is to be allowed in case of certain companies for purposes of corporation profits tax, whilst temporary exemption from the same tax is to be allowed in the case of profits derived from public utility companies.

THE CROWN ESTATES.

(1) The Woods and Forests (History).

THE term "Crown Estates" is used here so as to exclude the Sandringham and Balmoral properties, which are of a private and personal nature, and to include the Woods and Forests, the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Duchy of Cornwall. They may be treated conveniently and briefly as follows: (1) The Woods and Forests—history, and (2) Nature and Position Now; (3) the Duchy of Lancaster; (4) the Duchy of Cornwall; (5) the Civil List; and (6) the Constitutional Position of these Estates.

The Woods and Forests.

The Woods and Forests are now recognised as a department of the public administration and have been since 1851, when they were separated from the Board of Works. The Woods and Forests department, under the Treasury, has charge of those estates which from of old were the source of the maintenance of the dignity of the Crown, and the personal comfort of the sovereign and his family. Seeing the property is and has always been of various kinds, it is significant of the former importance of forests that the whole estate should be known as Woods and Forests, though the formula is extended also to "and Land Revenues of the Crown." The principle of the division of 1851 was the separation of the properties used to support the King's Household from those of his administration—the latter becoming the Board of Works. That suggests the history of this great estate, which is so instructive.

The provision made for the personal comfort of the sovereign in former days was mixed up with charges which were borne on behalf of several services of a really public character. The sovereign's

income was largely derived from the Crown Estates now known as the Woods and Forests. From early days, reaching back to the Conquest and earlier, the landed portion of the estate was known as the King's lands, and the feudal system of the Normans regarded all or nearly all land as coming within that category. An important distinction was made between the ancient and the acquired estates of the Crown, the acquired being got from escheat, forfeiture, and feudal delinquency, for it was held that the sovereign might dispose of the acquired, but that it was impious to alienate the ancient demesnes. Alienation, however, was common by sovereign after sovereign; but, on the other hand, the Estate was added to by the forfeiture, &c. This may be seen from the Report of the Commissioners of the Land Revenue in 1792, which made it clear how necessary it was to guard against further alienation of Crown Lands, for the alternative was taxation in some form. Domesday Book says that 1,422 manors or lordships in England were appropriated to the Crown, and besides some lands and farms in Middlesex, Shropshire, and Rutland.

The tale of the alienation of the Crown Lands is a sorry story. Of special mark was the seizure of the monasteries by Henry VIII., when the income of the seized lands, &c., amounted to £273,000; but in 1792 those estates were computed to yield about £6,000,000 a year. The alienation of the lands went on incessantly, and it will be read with interest not only how the estates were decimated at the time of the Commonwealth, and specially at the Restoration of Charles II. in 1661, but also at the accession and during the reign of William of Orange at the end of the 17th century. In 1663 the income of the Royal Estates was only £100,000, with £5,000 more from the Forest of Dean. William III., in 1695, granted manors in Wales to his friend, the Duke of Portland, but Parliament caused him to withdraw them, as they were usually settled upon the Prince of Wales; but the following year the king granted to his favourite several manors in England instead, which were said to be worth much, and in addition fee-farm rents bringing in £24,000. When William III. died the Crown Estate was taken at £6,000 a year only, but exclusive of the Duchy of Cornwall, which was taken at £9,000. In 1702, on the accession of Queen Anne, the Crown was restrained, by law, from alienating any part of the landed property, except for a limited time, and under this law the Land Revenues of England were made a portion of the *"Civil List" funds, but always with the exception of the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall.

It may be mentioned how that in 1703 Queen Anne consented to the transfer of the first-fruits and tenths payable by the clergy on presentation from the Civil List to a fund for the augmentation of small stipends, the fund known to our day as Queen Anne's Bounty (whose office is in Dean's Yard, Westminster). Throughout the reigns of the Georges down to the reign of George IV. in 1820, and William IV. in 1830, the Crown Estates knew a rough time, as did Parliament, which was dunned frequently for additional sums to supplement the Civil List; but in William IV.'s reign, and finally on the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, there was a salutary reform. The sovereign was provided for by a "Civil List" by Parliament, the charges not relevant to the sovereign's personal needs and comfort removed from it, and put on the Parliamentary funds, and the estates of the Woods and Forests transferred to the charge of Parliament, the net income from them being paid into the Public Treasury, which is being done to-day.

The Nature and Location of the Woods and Forests.

That wholly inadequate summary of the history must suffice to introduce a brief account of (3) the Nature and Location of these Crown Estates, in charge of the Woods and Forests department in Whitehall. The Commissioners (2) of the Woods and Forests are now required to make an annual return to Parliament of their administration of these estates, and to pay the *net* income into the Treasury. The accounts show that in 1920-21 £650,000 were thus paid in, and that the same amount is expected in 1921-22. The amount varies according to the outlays upon the estates in any

* See page 195.

year; but it is very apparent how their value has improved since the early days of Queen Victoria. The sum paid into the Treasury is, however, a very inadequate measure of the value of the estates at present, and that leads us directly to a description of the nature and location of these estates.

How instructive these estates to-day will be seen from the fact that every kind of "real" property is illustrated in the nature and administration of the "Woods and Forests and Land Revenues of the Crown." This paper is written from a fine property on the estate. London and the immediate vicinity affords the largest example of town properties and their management. If we walk up from the Victoria Embankment, through Northumberland Avenue, up the Haymarket, Regent Street, and Portland Place, to Regent's Park, we march the whole way through the heart of the London Crown estate—evidently of very high value, and not even yet at a full rackrent. As this is written there are loud groans from Regent Street shopkeepers because they are requested to accept new leases at "improved ground rents" which, however, cannot be avoided as the Commissioners are required by law to get the present value of the properties. This applies to the case of the Regent's Park Chapel, and to expect better terms is vain for, as of yore, to secure better terms is to get them at the expense of the taxpayers in general. Of more general interest is it to note how this Crown estate and the management illustrate also the affairs of similar private estates —a remark applicable to country estates as well—but in London it was shown to a committee in 1890-1 that the London estates of the Crown were managed with an understanding with agents of private estates, the 6 per cent table, for instance, being used for the computation of present values on the expiration and renewal of leases. In 1920, some £685,000 of an income was got from houses let on rackrents or on leases, and most of these were in London. Were all these let at full rents, they might be expected to bring three times as much.

House property is only one of the forms in which these estates consist. There are besides manors and manorial rights, mines and minerals, agricultural lands (with small-holdings and allotments), foreshores, forests and plantations (these last, plantations, a new feature in the charge of the Forestry Department), and the forests yield timber, of which a heavy toll was taken during the war from Windsor Park, Forest of Dean, New Forest, and other woodlands of the Crown. By law, one-half of the income from mines of all sorts on these estates is placed to the credit of the capital account—which at March, 1920, showed £140,317 in cash and stock of £1,359,797, while the income receipts reached £1,156,790, out of which last £680,000 was paid into the Treasury that year. It should be added that out of that last sum about £42,022 is paid as expenses of the Woods and Forests department.

The *location* of the properties adds to the illustrative importance. The *Forests* are to be found in Hants, Gloucester, Chester, Durham, Northants, Surrey, Merioneth, Argyll, and the Isle of Man, not to mention Windsor and Esher, without which last there are about 48,000 acres so afforested. There are among the "principal" *Agricultural Estates* some 78,911 acres, besides 9,800 acres more, largely near London—and other towns, and of building value. These agricultural lands, apart from London, are to be found in 17 English, two Welsh, and four Scottish counties, and therefore represent the country very adequately. It is to be regretted that Crown rights in land in Ireland are being sold off rapidly, as the Quit Rents are sold regularly now. This opportunity must be seized also to express a like, and stronger, regret that Crown lands in England are being sold now extensively. Once in Crown hands they should be held for the nation. In Alderney island the Crown owns the harbour and quarries, and is owner of about 62 acres of land. From which brief summary, as from accounts of foreshores and other forms of property, it is abundantly evident that the value and management of all real property may be illustrated and judged from the reports of the Crown estates. It is a pleasure to add also that the latest available facts show that the Crown estates, in comparison with others, appear to be managed economically. This may be said after a comparison with town and country estates belonging to private landlords and to quasi-corporations like colleges and the Ecclesiastical estates.

There are, however, in the latest estimates, suggestions that the Woods and Forests department has been caught in the expensive habits which were engendered by the war and developed so ruinously since.

The Duchy of Lancaster.

(3) The Duchy of Lancaster is peculiar among these Royal estates, a survival from remote times and conditions. Lancaster is a Palatinate, *i.e.*, an estate befitting a palace, said by Stubbs to be the first of such creations, founded in 1351. Durham and Chester were also palatinates, but all their privileges have fallen into desuetude, leaving Lancaster alone to exemplify the old state of things. For Lancaster still has its own courts, which sit in Salford and Liverpool, though they are assimilated to the High Court of the whole realm. There is a separate Chancellor of the Duchy, the office of which is at Lancaster Place, London.

The estates of the Duchy have always been regarded as pertaining to the Crown, and they come down from Plantagenet times, from John of Gaunt—"time-honoured Lancaster." The revenues of the Duchy go to the sovereign always, and in addition to the £470,000 a year which King George V., like his father Edward VII., receives from Parliament, in lieu of the net rents from the "Woods and Forests and Land Revenues of the Crown," of which we treat above. In 1916, the king received a net £60,000; in 1917, £58,000; in 1919, £45,000; in 1920, £43,000 from this source. The variation and reduction of income may be accounted for by (1) outlay on the estate, and (2) from the heavy public charges which have had to be allowed of late years, such as property or income-tax allowed to tenants. When we remember, however, that at the accession of Queen Victoria, in 1837, only £5,000 was paid to her from this Duchy, we perceive what progress has been made by nursing the estate.

Though the Duchy is of Lancaster the estate is found in several counties—in Bucks, Derby, Essex, Lancaster, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Stafford, and York. The London property is about the Strand and the Middlesex property about Enfield, where Enfield Chase reminds us of old kingly rights and habits. The district has been connected with the Royal Family since the days of Henry VIII. As a rule, if the Duchy of Cornwall has property in a county the Duchy of Lancaster has not, and *vice versa*; but, as it will be observed, the Duchy of Lancaster's domain is chiefly the North of England and the Midlands. In 1920 the total income of the Duchy was £112,584, and £43,000 net was paid to His Majesty, the difference being accounted for by various expenses and charges, including the salary of the Chancellor of the Duchy, now a political officer, of £2,000.

The Duchy of Cornwall.

(4) The Duchy of Cornwall pertains to the eldest son of the sovereign, who is seized of it from his birth as Duke of Cornwall, but he has to be created Prince of Wales. It was created in 1337 by Edward III. Long before, according to old Cornish records, there were earls, dukes, and lords of Cornwall, but this dukedom was created by an Act of the eleventh year of Edward III., which created the Black Prince Duke of Cornwall. In the absence of a son the revenues go to the sovereign. In the days of Queen Anne the revenues of Cornwall were reckoned at about £9,000 a year, but that helpless queen got scarcely more than an average of £2,000 a year. In 1838 the Duchy yielded a net £2,000 only; but in 1839 the yield was £22,000, and progress has been made since. The net income transferred to the Prince depends much upon the improvements and consequent outlay which are making on the estate. In 1888 the income was a net £61,971; in 1916, £80,500; but in 1919 it was only £42,000, and only £10,000 in 1920. This estate also bore heavy public charges lately amounting to about £55,000 a year. The total receipts for 1919 were £166,354, and the difference is accounted for by the charges aforesaid and the management and other necessary disbursements. It is known, for instance, that on this Duchy's London estate, in Kennington, very costly improvements are in hand, and meanwhile the income suffers (only £10,000 was paid to the Prince in 1920). Among the receipts it is worth calling attention to an item of £16,216. 15s., which is an annuity paid by the Government to the Duchy instead of the ancient

rights of the Duke of Cornwall to Coinage Duties, Post Groats, and White Rents, appurtenant of old to this peculiar duchy. This last arrangement was made when Queen Victoria acceded in 1837.

We return below to some matters of much public interest in connection with these royal appendages and the incomes derived from them.

The Civil List.

(5) Reference has been made already to the Civil List, which term is used to denote the provision made by Parliament for the comfort of the sovereign and his household in lieu of the rents from the Woods and Forests, &c. The term arose to distinguish the expenditure on civil as distinguished from military objects which were charged in bygone days on the king's income. Queen Victoria received £385,000 a year, £470,000 was voted to Edward VII., and in 1910 this last sum was voted and is paid annually to King George V. This sum is apart from the revenue received from the Duchy of Lancaster, which is paid directly to the king. It is well to understand also that Parliament provides an annuity for the Queen-Mother, and for the King's uncle (Connaught), and all his sisters and aunts. These amount just now to £159,000 a year; and, of course, the Prince of Wales gets the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, and so his name does *not* appear on the parliamentary list.

The history of the Civil List is woven inextricably into the history of the king's relation to Parliament. To the advent of William of Orange in 1688 we go to find a new period, but even then, and long afterwards, much of the army and navy's expenditure were placed to the same account as the king's personal and household expenses. It is surprising that so clumsy and confusing a practice was continued so long; for it was not till the accession of William IV. in 1831 that the "Civil List" was purged of public charges not connected with the king's income. But this fact now discussed accounts for the practice still obtaining in Parliament when it is said that the House of Commons gives His Majesty such and such a sum for such a purpose. Sometimes, again, the amount now voted as a Civil List, viz., £470,000 a year, is contrasted by loyal high-flyers with larger sums paid in bygone years to the sovereign. In 1697 William III. was voted a Civil List of £700,000. When George III. acceded in 1760, £800,000 was voted to him. Burke's Act of 1783 divided the Civil List into classes, so as to ensure more economy, which was much needed, as repeated applications were made to Parliament to pay debts of the Civil List, and to pay large sums contracted by the king's sons. In 1817 the Civil List was limited to £1,100,000. On the accession of George IV. in 1820 the Civil List was fixed at £1,057,000 a year (£850,000 for England, and £207,000 for Ireland); but there was also £109,000 from the hereditary revenues of Scotland, and several smaller sums from other sources. In 1830 a Select Committee of the House of Commons recommended "that the Civil List should be applied only to such expenses as affect the dignity and state of the Crown and the personal comfort of their Majesties," and added, "that hitherto many expenses had been included in the Civil List which have no immediate connection with those objects; expenses which are in reality the expenses of the Civil Government of the State, and which, as such, ought always to be under the cognisance and subject to the control of Parliament." That was accepted and done, and hence the apparently smaller sum voted to the Crown to-day.

The Constitutional Position of the Royal Estates.

(6) All this involves a consideration of the Constitutional Position of the Royal Estates, including the Woods and Forests, the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Duchy of Cornwall. In each of the Civil List Acts of recent reigns it is said that the new sovereign "surrenders" his right to the revenue of the "Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown" for a Civil List voted by Parliament. The real question is whether these estates are the private property of the sovereign, and to that question an emphatic negative must be returned. Since the first year of Queen Victoria the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall are required by Act, to return an account of their receipts and disbursements every year to Parliament. No private landowner is required to do such a thing.

W. M. J. W.

CAPITAL'S CHANGEFUL YEAR.

THE financial balloon that was inflated during the War, and rose to its greatest heights in the early part of 1920, has fallen to earth—a doleful-looking empty envelope, whose wreckage is the only memorial of the great masters of finance, who essayed to lead us to the Promised Land for Heroes and Home-makers. The South Sea Bubble, and the railway mania of the young Victorian era, are matters of history; the Hooley, Lawson, Whitaker Wright, Jabez Spencer Balfour, Farrow, and other illuminating leaders of British finance, have passed into prison and obscurity; but there are existing at the present day wonderful folks who decry the capacity of the working classes to govern industry, and yet have failed to stabilise commerce or give security to capital. If the democratic movements are troubled by the Extremists individualistic finance is harassed by the Speculators. The desire to get-rich-quickly has found itself in a slough of uncertainty not far from bankruptcy.

Fortunately those responsible for the fluctuations of finance are honest men; they keep within the letter of the law; they do not plunder people without authority; they move according to Articles of Association, and along columns of agendas, minutes, and resolutions. Statements in prospectuses are vouched for by auditors—professional gentlemen of the status that "my lords of the Treasury" seek to impose upon the co-operative movement in preference to those familiar with its principles and its methods. Before the war the 5 per cent preference stock was regarded as worth having, and small investors preferred the moderate return of loan capital to the risks of ordinary shares. Then came the war, and the public having more money than usual plunged into the new companies that promoters brought out and recklessly financed the schemes by which existing concerns were capitalised, over-capitalised, and, finally, jeopardised. For the main fact of 1921 has been the disillusionment of the people who, previously unfamiliar with the ways of joint stock, wild-cat, guinea-pig finance, are now estimating their capital losses and reckoning how much they might have saved by limiting their desire for gain, and being content with the modest security of local and national co-operative societies. For now that 1921 is nearly finished it is safe to say that whilst joint stock concerns generally have depreciated in market worth, those of co-operative societies have remained constant in the vicinity of twenty shillings for every pound subscribed.

The foregoing reflections are concerned only with the speculative side of things, as distinct from the industrial companies of long standing that have pursued their course along ordinary business lines, and have then lost value because business departed from its orthodox ways. There are hundreds of companies that have made heavy losses during 1921, and yet are weathering the storm owing to wise depreciation in the past and the pretty certain return of sums taken by the

Government as excess profits. But the experience of the year has been disastrous from the point of view of those who have looked upon Stock Exchange gambling as a business pursuit. Rubber has shown no financial resiliency; oils have been spurtive and hazardous; mining operations in South Africa and elsewhere have been unpleasantly fluctuating, and foreign and colonial countries have not proved responsive to the British company promoter. The financial world that lives by speculation has been, and is, in the doldrums; that section dealing with investments of the gilt-edged character has been as dull as the cotton trade these last few months. Those who held to railway shares hoping that de-control by the Government would bring relief have found disappointment. For just as they emerged from official red-tape they were faced with a loss of traffic owing to the development of road transport. Hundreds of firms that previously utilised the railways are now owners of motor vehicles and patrons of the organised road transport services that have been established. Thus the changes in locomotion and in industry affect, sometimes adversely, the financial world.

Banking Fusions.

Quietly and surely financial interests are acquiring a power behind the politicians, and deeper than that of the "captains of industry" of the Victorian era. This is the Bankers' Age. Fusion of forces, absorption of likely rivals, and amalgamation of sectional houses have been the dominating notes of the banking business during the last decade. This now seems less intense, the reason being that there are practically no independent concerns to be swallowed by the financial octopus. In February the last of the banking firms issuing private notes, viz., Messrs. Fox, Fowler, & Co., of Wellington, Somerset, was merged into Lloyds Bank. So that the Bank of England is now the only institution issuing notes in this country—a concentration that should be remembered in any proposals for real public control of British finance. The Liverpool and Manchester group of banks have maintained their independence and seem likely to withstand the overtures of larger competitors; but the Big Five are invading this north-western area, and the appointment of a local joint board for Liverpool, Manchester, and South Lancashire by Barclay's Bank is an intimation of the all-embracing ideas of those who direct the policy. Messrs. Coutts & Co. have signalised their determination to maintain their separate reputation by opening a West End office at Park Lane—this being the first branch of the famous banking house. Thus the contest continues between the Big Five and the Little Others, sometimes saddened by such failures as those of Farrow's and often fiercened by the keen advertising to secure saving accounts and small deposits from those who find their most convenient and acceptable security in the co-operative system of shares and loans easily withdrawable, practically on demand.

In 1920 the Bankers' Clearing House Returns reached the colossal total of £39,018,903,000. But during the first half of 1921 the

industrial clouds darkened the financial horizon, lessened the clearings, particularly at the ten provincial centres. The individual record of the various Clearing Houses for the first half of 1921 compared with the corresponding period of the previous year was as follows :—

	1921.	1920.	Decrease.
	£	£	£
Birmingham	70,523,200	102,084,400	31,561,200
Bristol	38,419,000	47,215,000	8,796,000
Dublin	191,288,400	235,716,800	44,428,400
Leeds	30,737,800	47,970,100	17,232,300
Leicester	20,552,100	35,127,700	14,575,600
Liverpool	227,999,500	443,842,000	215,842,500
Manchester	378,121,400	835,530,500	457,409,100
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	50,883,400	86,220,000	35,336,600
Nottingham	19,447,700	31,585,400	12,137,700
Sheffield	32,825,600	44,397,000	11,571,400
Provincial	1,060,798,100	1,909,688,900	848,890,800
London	17,306,689,000	20,174,943,000	2,868,254,000

How far the commercial outlook affected these figures is apparent from a geographical review. While there was a decline of only 13 per cent in the London House the stagnation in the cotton trade caused a drop of just over 54 per cent in the Manchester returns, Liverpool, Newcastle, and Leicester following with declines not less than 40 per cent. In next year's figures Hull will have a place, a Clearing House for the Humber district having been opened in February, and already coming on to the level of Birmingham in its returns.

But whilst business fell in its millions, though not in the individual transactions—a feature of banking business distinguishing it from ordinary trade being that lessened total amounts do not mean lessened actual accounts—the returns to the proprietors and shareholders were maintained at a point which keeps the Stock Exchange value of Bank Shares at a high level. Here are the dividend distributions of the Big Five, which have about two-thirds of the current and deposit accounts of the whole of the joint stock banks :—

	June, 1920. % per annum.	Dec., 1920. % per annum.	June, 1921. % per annum.
Barclay's—			
"A" Shares	10	10	10
"B" Shares	14	14	14
"C" Shares	14	14	14
Lloyds	16⅔	16⅔	16⅔
London County and Westminster and Parr's—£20 shares	20	20	20
£1 shares	12½	12½	12½
London Joint Stock and Midland	18	18	18
National Provincial	16	16	16

Provincial banks also maintained their dividends on the 1920 level. They might have been higher but for the appropriations to reserves and the methods adopted to preserve the security of what are really national institutions.

Labour's Capital Risks.

Every year marks an advance in the human spirit that has now manifested itself in joint stock concerns. I am not questioning the underlying motive. A discussion of the reason why would not be helpful to readers who regard experience as the illumination of future avenues. But here we have the spectacle of the shareholders of great public companies assigning large sums of money for the creation of a comradeship among their workers, and the maintenance of an industrial goodwill that is likely to be reproductive in a time of stress. At the annual meeting of Messrs. Bryant & May (who are forming and planting nurseries in connection with their timber growing estates in Scotland), Mr. G. W. Paton, the managing director, told of an appropriation of £24,000 as the workers' share of profits, of the provision of sports grounds, of the establishment of a non-contributory life insurance scheme, and a supplementary voluntary unemployment benefit. A fund was to be raised by setting aside 1 per cent of the wages bill each year until it reached 5 per cent, at which it was maintained. Payments to those out of work through depression in their own industry would provide 50 per cent of the normal wage for unmarried, and 75 per cent for married men—the Government grant and the payment by the trade union forming part of the entire allowance.

There has been quite a revival of the movement to get employees into financial association with the shareholders of industrial companies, and the partial acceptance of the principle in the agreement that closed the coal dispute marks an advance from the year when the late Lord Brassey (at one time the president of the National Co-operative Festival at the Crystal Palace) resigned from the board of Powell Duffryn Steam Coal Co. because his fellow directors would not sanction profit sharing with the workers. In several new issues of shares during 1921 a special feature was the issue of shares which could be taken up only by employees of the concerns. Greenlees & Sons, John Dickinson & Co., N. Jennings & Co., the British Electric Transformer Co., and the Newfoundland Fish Products are among those that have signified this innovation in their prospectuses. Insurance and banking companies have also developed in the same direction. Of the last issue of capital by the Eastern Telegraph Company, £66,900 was taken up by the employees. This is a fresh phase of profit sharing in which the work-people shareholders take the risks of Capital and the risks of Labour as well—a combination that seems to have encouragement from the chairmen of several great concerns. Thus the chairman of the Bradford Dyers' Association at the annual meeting expressed the hope that every worker would become a shareholder with the "dual interest."

Originally 400,000 £1 shares were set apart for the employees, but recently these were increased to 500,000. About 3,600 of the employees are shareholders. The idea of the workers being financially interested in the works in which they are employed is not confined to joint-stockism. The Co-operative Wholesale Society is issuing Deposit Notes with a fixed rate of interest for a term of years ; these have the advantage that they are free from the fluctuations of a variable share capital ; they give a guaranteed return in a way that is being appreciated by the employees as well as outsiders.

There is an increasing tendency for the directorates of great companies to be made up of practical men. From the spectacular point of view the advent of Sir Eric Geddes to the board of Lever Bros. direct from the Cabinet is great, and his previous association with a railway company should make him useful in dealing with the transport problems of a distributing business. But the development I have in mind is the inclusion of responsible heads of departments as the directors of policy as in such cases as the appointment to the board of Lovell & Christmas of Mr. Robert Graham, who was the manager of their Manchester business, and a score of other instances which could be given. This is a trend of company procedure that should be closely watched ; curiously enough it seems to synchronise with the growing practice in the co-operative movement of securing the presence of employees in the committee room.

Depreciated Values.

Throughout the year the chairmen of public companies have dwelt upon the fall in prices as though it were so deep that it had reached the shareholders in their capacity of consumers. Many have forgotten how long is the lane between production and consumption in the ordinary commercial sense. A decline in the manufacturing or wholesale quotations might be real ; but it often degenerates into a mere rumour before reaching the ultimate customer. And despite the drop in values the owners of capital have been cheerful. At the meeting of Lovell and Christmas Ltd.—a firm of wholesale provision merchants—the chairman, Mr. W. G. Lovell, C.B.E., regretted a decline in the net profit from £136,396 to £107,047, but was pleased to announce that their turnover had increased by considerably more than one and a half million pounds. There had been a fall in value of at least 33⅓ per cent in the two principal articles in which they dealt, viz., butter and cheese, to the tune of many millions a year. But despite that, and the reduction of the reserve from £220,000 to £204,000, the chairman was optimistic, especially as there was not a real reduction in the reserve as two amounts aggregating about £25,000 which appeared in the previous reserve were now placed to a suspense account.

In textile concerns the prosperity that had advanced share values for a few seasons has been checked. Heavy losses by Rylands & Sons

and dividend depreciations by leading Manchester and London houses assure us that the " boom " has spent itself. Cotton mill companies that had kept going on only a proportion of their capital have had to call up their unsubscribed capital—with resultant depreciation in share values.

This universal depression has shown itself in many ways, notably by the fact that in August only six new prospectuses were issued to the public as against 18 in the same month of last year, and that there were only 13 issues by existing companies for £5,197,800 as compared with 33 for £14,366,000 in 1920. To the total for August, 1921, the absorption of Lyle's concern with Henry Tate & Sons materially contributed. In the first six months of 1921, 117 companies increased their capital by £6,361,325, an average of £54,370 per company.

During the first nine months of 1921 capital to the amount of £186,466,100 was issued, of which £118,101,400 was for development in the United Kingdom, £46,479,000 in connection with British possessions, and the remainder for foreign countries. For the corresponding three quarters of 1920 the issues of capital were £294,301,800, The fall has been most marked in industrial undertakings, stores, and trading companies, exploration ventures, engineering and docks, &c., while Government borrowing has been a rising factor until it reached one-third of the present issues in the first nine months of 1921.

The speculative element continues to attract the owners of capital, and capital value is best recorded in the revisal of the table given in previous issues of THE YEAR BOOK showing the fluctuating quotations of a score of representative British securities : –

	Quotation, July 27th, 1914.	Quotation, Oct. 31st, 1918.	Quotation, Oct. 27th, 1920.	Quotation, Oct. 14th, 1921.
Allsopp's Ordinary (£100)	£10	£52	£70	£52
Watney Combe Deferred (£100)	£31	£105	£145	£132
Bengal Iron	£2¾	£5⅞	£2½	£1⅛
Brown (John) and Co.	25s. 6d.	39s. 6d.	23s. 6d.	18s. 6d.
Cammell Laird (£1)	£4	£6¼	18s. 6d.	12s. 6d.
Cargo Fleet	7s. 6d.	27s.	21s.	11s. 6d.
Bleachers Ordinary	18s.	21s.	36s.	27s. 6d.
Bradford Dyers	22s. 6d.	40s. 6d.	42s. 6d.	32s. 6d.
Calico Printers	8s. 9d.	16s. 3d.	24s. 6d.	14s. 6d.
Courtaulds	£2 5/16	£7 15/16	£7½	33s.
English Sewing Cotton	36s. 9d.	£3¼	£1 13/16	—
Fine Spinners	32s. 6d.	40s. 6d.	£2⅜	32s. 6d.
British and Argentine Meat	7s. 6d.	25s. 3d.	21s.	18s. 6d.
British Oil and Cake Mills	14s. 3d.	35s. 9d.	43s.	22s. 6d.
Bryant and May	£1 5/32	£2 1/12	£1½	29s.
Dunlop Rubber	£2 3/16	£4 11/16	29s.	7s. 6d.
Eastman's	11s. 9d.	15s. 3d.	24s.	—
Lipton's	17s. 6d.	27s. 3d.	24s.	18s.
Maypole Dairy Deferred	19s. 9d.	19s. 9d.	10s. 6d.	7s. 6d.
Nelson Bros.	18s. 9d.	27s. 6d.	£1 1/16	£1½

A useful summary of the trading results of 1,353 companies for the year ending June 30 has been made by the *Economist*, showing an increased profit of £11,000,000, to which the oil companies contributed nearly half. Retail stores, textiles, motor, rubber, and tea, had serious declines. Regarded as a whole the reserve appropriations have also fallen, being only 21 per cent of the profits in the second quarter of 1921 as against 36 per cent in the last quarter of 1920. The table of net profits is as follows :—

NET PROFITS (after Payment of Debenture Interest, &c.).

	No. of Cos.	Reports Published in Year Ended June 30th.		Increase.		Decrease.	
		1920.	1921.				
		£	£	£	%	£	%
Breweries	101	8,140,393	8,624,099	483,706	5·9	..	..
Canals, docks, &c.	8	402,154	553,574	151,420	37·5	..	..
Electric lighting, &c.	38	1,994,857	2,562,136	567,279	28·4	..	..
Gas	57	1,538,427	1,590,410	51,983	3·4	..	..
Hotels, restaurants, &c	34	1,790,651	1,961,154	170,503	9·5	..	..
Iron, coal, and steel	100	11,932,758	13,725,138	1,792,380	15·0	..	..
Land mortgage	80	5,855,945	5,375,551	..	..	480,394	8·2
Motor and cycle	24	1,677,430	1,452,572	..	..	224,858	13·4
Nitrate	20	817,749	2,026,006	1,208,257	148·0	..	..
Oil	10	13,350 397	19,199,666	5,849,269	43·9	..	..
Rubber, &c.	246	4,649,945	4,011,811	..	..	638,134	13·8
Shipping	27	7,246,042	7,992,860	746,818	10·3	..	..
Shops and stores	52	7,665,931	6,618,423	..	..	1,047,508	13·6
Tea	67	2,210,069	287,875	..	..	1,922,194	87·0
Telegraph, &c.	16	3,819,443	5,361,562	1,542,119	40·5	..	..
Textiles	43	14,401,206	12,676,435	..	..	1,724,771	12·0
Tramways	34	1,461,887	1,656,101	194,214	13·2	..	..
Trust companies	78	3,702,865	4,845,492	1,142,627	30·9	..	..
Waterworks	22	3,506,335	504,054	..	..	2,281	0·5
Miscellaneous	296	33,696,890	37,496,416	3,799,526	10·9	..	..
	1,353	126,861,374	138,521,335	11,659,961	9·2	..	..

A drop of 87 per cent in the profits of tea companies and declines of 12 and more per cent in the surplus of the textile, shops and store combines attracted little adverse comment as the balance sheets appeared. The dolorous tones of the chairmen of the preserve, glass, and foodstuff combinations evoked no derisory articles from newspaper syndicates. Just as the £1,263,315 loss of Rylands & Sons was accepted as an inevitable feature of the year, so the troubles of the Fenton Textile Association and the worries of the other big concerns were merely recorded as events. They became the ordered progress of finance as the year advanced ; distributing firms like Robinson and Cleaver, of Belfast and London, as well as those dependent on manufacturing like Tootal Broadhurst Lee Co. Ltd. were caught in the tide. Explanations, such as that of Sir Edward Tootal Broadhurst, the chairman of the latter, were regarded as the last word to be said—a fact to be noted when we consider the pother raised by a section of the press when the trading results of the C.W.S. indicated that co-operative business is subject to the ebbs and flows of the outside

world. The year closes, however, with a great distinction. Commercial concerns that have been re-capitalised and are now burdened with inflated commitments will find their difficulties increase as competition develops. Those companies that could manage to give their shareholders modest returns in pre-war days will find themselves in a queer position when they have to provide interest for the amalgamated organisations into which they have been absorbed. The rise and fall of investments is becoming a tragedy ; it is proving the gambling element of the joint stock idea. And as that fact emerges, so the steadfast principle of co-operative finance stands out four-square to the world. In co-operation the twenty shilling investment is of stabilised value—never subject to the bulls and bears of the Stock Exchange. Its security grows by the depreciation of the land and properties behind it ; its accessibility when wanted is determined by the increasing number of co-operators. So that Co-operation maintains its Capital value, while other capital changes.

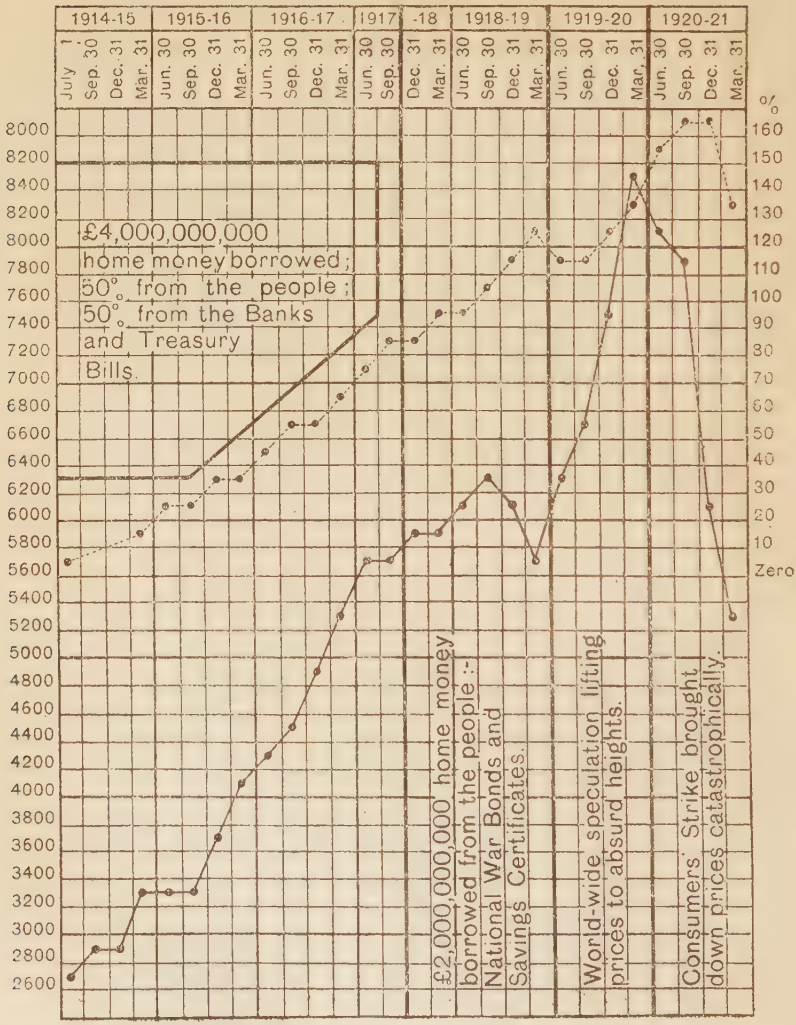
NEW CAPITAL v. UNEMPLOYMENT.

IT is worthy of note that in a year of unexampled unemployment such as that of 1921, the issues of new capital have amounted to £183,442,860 in the course of ten months (from January to October inclusive). This amount is exclusive of all direct borrowings by the British Government for national purposes, shares issued to vendors, allotments arising from the capitalisation of reserve funds and undivided profits, issues for conversion purposes and loans by municipal and county authorities, except in cases where there is a specific limit to the total subscription. In October alone the issues of new capital amounted to £33,918,846, or nearly to the same figure as in June (£33,918,846), a figure larger than for any month in 1919 except one, and larger than the amount for seven months individually in 1920. Even in the three months July, August, and September, 1921 (the worst months in the year), the total issues for the three months amounted to nearly £26,000,000.

As regards the increase of capital of limited liability companies, it may be noted that in the month of October, 1921, 97 companies increased their nominal capital by £5,638,820, whilst during the ten months from January to October inclusive 1,325 limited liability companies increased their total nominal capital by £80,749,322.

This continuous expansion of the resources of capitalism during a time of trade depression and widespread unemployment affords considerable food for reflection.

INDEX NUMBER OF PRICES.



The full line shows the variations in the *Economist* Index Number of Wholesale Prices.

The dotted line represents percentage increase in the cost of living (all items) since July 1st, 1914, according to the figures of the Ministry of Labour.

INTERNATIONAL CREDITS.

(TER MEULEN BOND SCHEME.)

By Sir Drummond Drummond Fraser, K.B.E., M.Com.
(*The Organiser of the International Credits for the League of Nations.*)

I AM peculiarly pleased that I have been asked to write an article explaining the working out of the ter Meulen Bond scheme for the People's Year Book, because my life for the last seven years has been one long endeavour to make Chancellors of the Exchequer and other Treasury officials see that the only principle which can completely succeed, either in war or in peace, is the co-operative principle.

At the very beginning of the war, in August, 1914, I was asked by the *Manchester Guardian* to write a series of articles, of which the spirit of them all could be summed up in the final words of one of them: "Give the People a Chance!" I tried to make the Government see that loans must be issued for less than £100, if the maximum amount of the current savings of the people were to be obtained. But it was only in October, 1917, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer adopted my National War Bonds, on the principle of day by day continuous borrowing direct from the people. And what was the result? During the period that they were on tap the whole of the home money borrowed was raised without disturbing the existing financial machinery. In fact there was a decrease as against a continuous rise in wholesale prices when the Government borrowed half from the rich and half from the banks. (*See* Chart on opposite page.)

For the last twenty-eight years I have been the honorary treasurer and chairman of the Co-operative Holiday Association. All the money I have raised during that time for the purchase, building, leasing, and furnishing of Guest Houses in the beauty spots of Great Britain and on the Continent has been entirely raised, managed, and organised by the people themselves. This has engendered a spirit of *bonne camaraderie* second to none.

Now, it is just because the C.W.S. movement is a much larger edition of the C.H.A. movement that my sympathies go out to its organisation more than to any I know. While the C.H.A. provides recreative and educative holidays for the workers of this country at cost price, the C.W.S. provides them with the *essentials* of life of the best, most wholesome and purest, at cost price also. What I want to see more than anything is the extension of this co-operative spirit into an international movement, embracing all the European countries, who, through no fault of their own, are almost starving for want of that which the C.W.S. has the machinery to be able to supply.

Just as the C.W.S. is a large extension of the C.H.A., so did it seem to me that the International Credits Scheme of the League of Nations was an international extension of the C.W.S. And it was because of its

co-operative principle and its immense co-operative possibilities for the recuperation of distressed Europe, that I accepted the invitation to become its organiser, for one year, ending March, 1922. It was not as a banker. As a banker, however, I first satisfied myself of its financial soundness. It has not had an immediate popularity, because it involves individual sacrifice in the distressed countries for the benefit of the whole community.

The ter Meulen Bond Scheme.

Everyone now knows that all these countries are suffering from a misuse of credit. This has caused a lack of credit. The ter Meulen bond scheme is devised to supply this lack. The bond is in the nature of a guarantee and will enable importers to obtain the required credit for the purchase of essential goods. The C.W.S. have gone so far as to say that they are now prepared to grant credits for the shipment of approved goods on receipt of ter Meulen Bonds.

Although the scheme has already been applied to Austria, other countries (I write in August) are still holding back. The C.W.S., with its far-sighted enlightenment, has taken the lead in impressing upon the co-operative societies in the distressed countries that they should urge their respective governments to apply to me for the issue of the bonds, at Trafalgar House, Waterloo Place, London, S.W.1.

This International Credit Scheme is, like the C.W.S., under the control of " picked " men. In the C.W.S. they are called a board of directors. In the ter Meulen scheme they are to be an international commission of bankers and business men, appointed by the League of Nations, who shall have power to determine the gold value of the assets pledged by the governments of the war-stricken countries. They will issue gold bonds to the value fixed by the Commission. The interest and sinking fund of the bonds will be specifically secured by the revenue from these pledged assets. Thus the bonds will only be issued where the country has national assets to pledge ; but, because of the present political unrest, the control of the revenue from those assets may have to be placed in the hands of this international commission. There will of course be cases where the countries themselves can control the revenue from their pledged assets. It is this revenue which will enable a gold value to be put on the bonds. The bonds will be used by the importers to satisfy exporters that they will be able to pay. These bonds will be financed by banks and where necessary—as for reconstruction purposes, necessitating long-term credits—by Holding Companies or Credit Associations (on the principle of the corporations founded under the Edge Bill of America). These Holding Companies, Corporations or Credit Associations will raise the money from the public direct, in the same way as the C.W.S. raise money. The share and loan capital of the co-operative societies in the United Kingdom is over £100,000,000. This is soundly invested in land at home and abroad, buildings, factories, stock, with a substantial margin

in realisable cash assets. I feel sure that some day there will have to be an international corporation on the lines of the C.W.S., backed by the guarantee of the Allied Powers, other Governments, and the Banks, to finance the ter Meulen bonds, when they have become the success I anticipate. This International Credit Association could raise money from the people direct on the bond system, in order to finance exporters with ter Meulen bonds. It would be a further advantage if such an International Credit Association, *i.e.*, a Holding Company, were prepared to purchase other desirable foreign securities represented by the bonds, such as German Reparation Bonds, in order to make Germany's export surplus, represented by the bonds, marketable. This would stimulate productivity in every other country, just in the same way as the C.W.S. has stimulated co-operative productivity in England to such an extent that it supplies the foodstuffs and clothing of one-fourth of the population of the whole country.

The Necessity of Financial Co-operation.

Countries that are prosperous produce. This production increases the capacity of the world's consumption. The capacity of the world's consumption must be increased if the world is to get the maximum benefit of Germany's indemnity to the Allied Powers. Financial co-operation will bring real peace and prosperity to the democracies of the world that statecraft has failed to do.

When the American Delegation were in this country at the World Cotton Conference, they were shown over Lancashire cotton mills, idle through the strike. Several of them told me that they were amazed to find how calm and unconcerned was the attitude of the unemployed operatives. But when I explained to them that the mills were practically financed by those operatives on the well-known loan system and that the operatives were also shareholders of the mills, and that many rose to the positions of managers and directors of the mills in which they had worked, they saw the immense advantage of this financial stake of the workers. I informed them that the workers were even interested in the destinations of the goods they made ; and that they were also familiar with foreign exchanges. These things secure efficient management. The result is that, when an occasional strike or lock-out occurs, it becomes merely a question as to who can in a few weeks get the best terms from collective bargaining. In my opinion such financial co-operation runs the C.W.S. very close ! One has a striking illustration of the reverse side of the shield in the mining industry, where there have been frequent hostile prolonged disputes, because there is lack of financial interest on the part of the miners in the mines in which they work.

An International Credit Association and Its Benefits.

An International Credit Association would turn the created unproductive money into new, productive money. This would bring about

a deflation of the present inflation, due to the misuse of credit and currency by belligerent governments and speculators in the mad trade boom after the Armistice (clearly indicated on my Chart).

Bank deposits of the people before the war enabled the banks to finance the London Sterling Bills of Exchange, through which the oversea trade of the world was financed. To-day, owing to the violent fluctuations in the foreign exchanges due to the mistrust of the new European Governments, the use of the printing press to pay Government expenditure, and to the speculation in foreign exchanges by the few at the expense of the many, it has become necessary to give a longer credit than bill credit to give time for these countries to recuperate. This is where the ter Meulen bond steps in.

A Threefold Co-operation, through the ter Meulen Bond and Other Securities, must Become an International Force.

Before the war, Bills provided the reservoir of credit required by exporters. To-day Bonds must provide this reservoir of credit. How can this be done? By finance. But finance is a big word covering many things. Finance is the only thing that can grapple with the problem of this new reservoir. And finance alone cannot do it. It must be backed by a threefold co-operation, consisting of producers, distributors, consumers. This threefold co-operation must, through the ter Meulen bond and other foreign securities, become a live, international force. It will then multiply production, because the producers will be safeguarded by *pro rata* guarantees of governments and banks in the lending countries and by collateral securities on a gold basis of governments of borrowing countries. It will also multiply consumption through the distribution of goods—by reason of its international character—where they can be most economically and efficiently produced and manufactured. And it will kill monopolies, trusts, and rings, because its finance will be controlled, not by a combination of financiers, but—again by reason of its international character—by all the citizens of the world.

I see as in a vision a "movement" which includes this threefold co-operation, raising money from the people direct, on gold bonds on the one hand; advancing, buying against ter Meulen bonds and other satisfactory foreign collateral securities on the other hand. I see this great corporation extending its sphere from national to international service. Where is the machinery to be found to do this unique, organic work? Who has the power in embryo? In my mind there is one movement that has within it all the necessary organisation to embark upon this monumental work. Courage, hard, unremitting labour and sound finance will be needed. And underlying all there must be the Ideal of Universal Brotherhood. Where can all these be found, if not in the C.W.S.?

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SIR D. DRUMMOND FRASER, K.B.E.

Organiser of the International Credits for the League of Nations.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN SESSION, AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER, 1921.

WOMEN'S OUTLOOK FROM THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR POINT OF VIEW.

By Ida S. A. Beaver.

Secretary of the International Association for Labour Legislation—British Section.

AT the Universal Exposition in Paris of 1900 an organisation known as the International Association for Labour Legislation was formed for the then almost unique purpose of securing international agreements respecting conditions of labour. There had come a general recognition of the necessity of a legal standard respecting labour conditions and of the advantages of uniformity in its application. The internationalisation of labour laws was demanded so that there should be no unfair competition between those countries where protective legislation existed and those where there were no restrictions, since no one nation could take the initiative without suffering disadvantage from international competition.

Under our modern industrial system the enormous influx of women into wage earning necessitated special laws for their protection. The inability of most women workers to protect themselves and the harmful results to the State of undermining the health of the future mothers of the State have called for special protection for women as a health measure. And it is interesting to note that almost from the first many of these international agreements have been concerned with the work of women.

The Pre-war Work of the International Association.

In 1905 the Association called together a conference at which two conventions were discussed, the prohibition of the night work of women in industry and of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. In the following year a diplomatic conference, attended by Governments' representatives, confirmed these conventions, and as a result 13 countries and 11 dependencies have adopted legislation in accordance with the proposals of the former convention, and 10 countries and 33 dependencies in respect of the latter, affecting the use of white phosphorus.

The method of obtaining international labour laws on these lines was, of necessity, slow. Much time was spent by the Association in investigation and in obtaining detailed information on industrial subjects urgently demanding reform. In 1908 two more subjects were brought forward for discussion and consideration, viz., the 10-hour day for women and the prohibition of the night work of boys. But in the meantime constitutional difficulties of a complex and serious character had become involved and it was not until 1913 that the diplomatic conference became possible. This conference proved,

however, extremely disappointing. Neither employers' nor workers' delegates were present nor were representatives of the Association, responsible for the original conventions, invited. The result was that the conventions as finally drafted were regarded by the International Association for the most part as worse than useless, and an entirely new set of international labour treaties were to have been submitted to its next conference in 1914. The war stopped this conference, and until 1920 it was not possible to hold any further conferences of the International Association for Labour Legislation.

The International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations.

The position caused by the establishment of the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations is very different. In place of the purely unofficial or diplomatic conferences, called with extreme difficulty and at wide intervals, we have now a permanent machine always operating and conferences held at least once a year. These conferences are attended by workers' and employers' delegates as well as Government representatives. Moreover, each delegate is entitled to take two technical advisers for each subject of the agenda. It was too much to hope, perhaps, that there should have been at least one woman delegate amongst the British delegation sent to the first of these conferences at Washington in 1919. But although no woman delegate attended, the women's interests were represented by Miss Mary Macarthur and Miss Margaret Bondfield, as technical advisers to the workers' delegate, and Miss Constance Smith for the Government.

Many of the Conventions adopted at Washington merely reiterated the principles expounded at the Berne Conferences and were already part of the established legislation in many countries. The situation was different, however, in so far as far more countries were involved, including those of South America, who had hitherto taken no part in international labour agreements. The conventions adopted affecting women concerned the employment of women during the night, the employment of women before and after childbirth, and the minimum age of admission of children to industrial employment. A recommendation was also carried concerning the protection of women and children against lead poisoning.

At the third conference in Geneva this autumn further regulations affecting women will be considered, viz., the protection of women employed in agriculture, as regards hours of labour, night work, the night work of children, employment of children in agricultural work, the age of admission of children to work, protection of women before and after childbirth, and living-in conditions, all these questions being merely the adaptation of the Washington proposals for industry to agriculture.

Hope and Disappointment.

Women's organisations in all countries have looked towards this International Labour Organisation as a means whereby an entirely new standard for living and working conditions may be obtained for them. The Washington Conference in some measure bore out this hope and seemed to bring realisation within view. Since then, however, it has been possible to watch the action taken by countries to make good the conventions so enthusiastically adopted at Washington. And this has proved more than a little disappointing. On July 28th the time limit set for ratifying the conventions will have expired, and it must be admitted that far fewer countries have actually adopted legislation in accordance with these proposals as regards women's work than had been hoped, although many will have carried out their Treaty obligations and submitted the measure for national consideration. The International Labour Organisation will have, however, little value unless some more practical result than this is forthcoming. Much of this inaction is doubtless due to the fact that most of the European countries are engaged in trying to rehabilitate themselves after the recent devastating war and are in many cases hardly in a position to impose additional burdens on their finances. Nevertheless, it is a matter of deep regret in our own country that two of the conventions, that of the employment of women before and after childbirth and that of the Eight-hour Day (affecting both men and women), have not been properly submitted to Parliament for discussion on their merits. With regard to the former convention, it has been generally recognised that some real protection for women in industry at this period was necessary, although the existing legislation in the different countries indicates the large divergence of opinion as to the extent. For example, in the State of Connecticut, U.S.A., a woman is prohibited from working for four weeks before and after childbirth. In Vermont and Massachusetts for two weeks before and four weeks after. In Belgium the law allows for four weeks after childbirth, but covers a very wide range of workers in its application. In Greece the prohibition is for eight weeks and in Germany for eight weeks also, six of which must be after childbirth.

The Washington Conference.

It was at the Washington Conference that a general agreement was reached as to the length of time for which a woman should be excluded from employment. There was also practically unanimous agreement that any prohibition of wage earning must be accompanied by adequate financial compensation. Many countries had already agreed to this principle in their separate legislative measures and have established schemes for maternity insurance or benefit and giving pecuniary assistance to the woman during her enforced absence from employment. The final agreement obtained was for six weeks' rest before childbirth, which is optional and depends on the production of a

medical certificate to the effect that the confinement is likely to take place during that period, and six weeks' rest after childbirth, which is compulsory, together with a "full and healthy maintenance for mother and child" throughout the period. To each country was left the decision as to whether the maintenance was to be on a contributory or a non-contributory basis, as to whether it should be taken entirely out of public funds or worked by a system of insurance. It is earnestly to be hoped that our Government will yet take action on these lines. In certain parts of this country many married women are employed in industry (notably in the textile districts), and it is a subject of common knowledge that a greater regulation is desirable in relation to their employment during the period of childbirth. This convention offered the means whereby our national need and at the same time our national obligation under the Treaty could have been met. Much of the value of the International Labour Organisation as a factor towards reaching an international standard of a democratic nature will be gone unless there is the certainty that such countries as signed the Treaty, which established the organisation, will observe their obligations under the Treaty.

It is for the large industrial countries to take the lead in these affairs and to set the pace. More particularly is this the case in a country so highly organised industrially as Great Britain. Demands for protective labour regulations, both for men and women, which shall create a minimum standard of labour conditions, become increasingly pressing and these demands must be met. In the International Labour Organisation we find an opportunity for meeting them by adopting international standards and thus avoiding the objection, so frequently raised by opponents of labour progress, of unfair competition from nations less progressive.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

THE First Sitting of the Third Session of the International Labour Conference was opened in the Kursaal, Geneva, on Tuesday, October 25th, 1921, at 10 a.m., by Mr. Arthur Fontaine, Chairman of the Governing Body, and French Government Delegate to the Conference. Some 400 delegates and technical advisers were present.

The members of the Conference were welcomed by Mr. Fontaine in the name of the Governing Body, by Mr. Schulthess (President of the Swiss Confederation) in the name of the Swiss Government and people, and by Mr. Gignoux (President of the Republic and Canton of Geneva).

Lord Burnham (Proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph* and ex-member of the British House of Commons) was unanimously elected President.

WOMAN'S POLITICAL PROGRESS AND HER POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

By Kate E. Trounson,

Headquarters Secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

DAY by day the Woman's Movement is becoming of greater importance all over the world.

Not a week passes without some new manifestation of the energy with which the feminist spirit is preparing for the work of collaboration in all that makes for progress and improvement, whether social, political, or economic.

Twenty-one countries have enfranchised their women during the war. The change has come in great countries and in little countries alike; to-day, the whole western world save the Latin countries, demands the help of its women in the rebuilding of its life after the recent devastation wrought by war. Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Denmark, Holland, Hungary, and Sweden represent a great block of enfranchised women round whom the women of smaller and newer nations have rallied. Iceland has regained the franchise with its independent constitution.

Luxemburg has been swept along in the tide, and the new states of Poland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettonia, Czecho-Slovakia, Ukrainia, and even the Mussulman Crimea have begun their independent life upon the basis of a fully enfranchised people.

To this hopeful record of European progress, the United States of America and Canada add an immense volume of influence and power, while British East Africa and Rhodesia break new ground.

The Rights of Women in the United Kingdom.

The political rights of women are identical in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

In February, 1918, the municipal suffrage was very much extended. Women are now eligible to vote and to be elected to the House of Commons and to all local governing bodies, *i.e.*, town and county councils, school boards, boards of guardians, urban and rural district councils.

The law as to whether women may or may not sit in the House of Lords is being considered at present before a legal tribunal, and the decision is shortly expected.

Women have exactly the same right as men to be elected to Parliament and to local government bodies, and any woman of twenty-one may stand as a candidate, but—note this remarkable anomaly—no

woman may *vote* for a Parliamentary candidate in these islands until she is thirty.

The qualifications for women as Parliamentary electors are different from those of men in other respects than that of age (men may vote as soon as they are twenty-one years old). Women's qualifications are somewhat complicated ; the more important are those of householder or lodger in unfurnished rooms. Women, whose husbands are householders or have unfurnished rooms, may vote when they are thirty.

With regard to local government voting, women may vote in all local elections on the same terms as men do, viz. : as householders and lodgers from the age of twenty-one.

In addition to women so qualified, those over thirty who have husbands who are householders or lodgers, have also the local government vote.

The Effect of the Women's Vote.

It cannot be said that the woman's vote has changed the relative strength of the political parties so far. It *has* made it more necessary for the representatives of all parties to pay more attention to certain questions often classed as "women's questions," mostly concerned with health and the general well-being of the community, and it has obliged them to give more careful consideration to matters of domestic politics according to the effect their politics may have on the woman's vote.

The granting of the vote to British women has already been effective in securing the following changes :—

(*a*) Eligibility of women for Parliament.

(*b*) The right of women to practice as solicitors and barristers, and to enter all professions formerly closed to them.

(*c*) The right of women to be appointed as Justices of the Peace. A large number of women are now sitting in this capacity all over the country and administering justice.

(*d*) Women now serve as jurors in the same courts as men and with the same qualifications. It is, however, possible for the judge to decide that any case shall be tried by women or by men only, and he may voluntarily excuse women from trying cases where the evidence is of an objectionable nature. Women's societies, take strong exception to this discrimination, considering it against the interests of justice. The right has not often been exercised.

(*e*) All public offices are now open to women, irrespective of age or marriage, excepting the church and the army.

(*f*) For the last few years, Government has tried over and over again to introduce legislation which would legalise compulsory

examination of women for venereal disease. The protests of the women's societies have made it absolutely impossible for this legislation to be proceeded with.

Electors and Elected.

The number of women registered as Parliamentary voters is 8,439,156 ;

The number of men registered as Parliamentary voters is 12,913,166.

Up to September last there was only one woman member sitting in the House of Commons, the very first woman to be elected, the Countess Markievitch, not presenting herself, in accordance with the policy of abstention pursued by the Irish Party by which she was elected. Lady Astor, M.P. for Plymouth (the first woman to take her seat in the House of Commons), has been well received, and has already done much to promote the interests of women in Parliament. Mrs. Margaret Wintringham has become the second woman member of the House of Commons as the result of the by-election at Louth (Lincolnshire). She is the first British woman to sit in the British House of Commons.

Women have sat on Boards of Guardians for more than thirty years, and their record in that capacity is an excellent one.

They have also sat in Town Councils since 1907, and in greater numbers since the franchise was extended in 1918. Here, also, they are doing very good work indeed.

In Other parts of the British Empire.

Women vote on the same terms as men in other parts of the British Empire, as follows :—

In New Zealand since 1893. In Australia, 1893-1908. In Canada, with the exception of the Provincial Parliament of Quebec, since 1919. In British East Africa and Southern Rhodesia, since 1919. In the following provinces of British India : Madras, Cochin, Travancore, Jhalawar, and Bombay, since 1921.

Women have voted for town councils in many towns in British India and in Rangoon, Burma, for some years.

Women M.P.'s in Many Lands.

With regard to other countries which have elected women to their respective governments : Australia has one woman Member of Parliament in the Legislative Council of Western Australia ; Austria has eight ; Canada has four women Members of State Legislatures, and two appointed women ministers without portfolio, one to the Ministry of Education. Czecho-Slovakia has thirteen women in its Lower House and three in its Second Chamber. Denmark has eleven,

and that country has already passed laws for equal pay, equal admission to all posts and equal status in marriage. In Sweden the first woman M.P. has been elected. Esthonia has five women members; Finland has eighteen; Germany has elected thirty women to the Reichstag; Hungary has one woman member; Lettonia, five; Lithuania, five; Luxemburg has one woman Member of Parliament; the Netherlands two; Poland, eight; Rhodesia has one; Russia gave her women the vote on equal terms during the first revolution, and several women served in Parliament and in the Cabinet. The United States returns one woman to Congress, and thirty-three to the State Legislatures.

We still await the time when the women of France, Italy, Spain, and Belgium,* shall win their enfranchisement, as also the women of our own oldest possession—Newfoundland; and the women of one of our biggest dependencies, South Africa.

Every woman should be fully acquainted with these facts about the political enfranchisement of woman—her political position in 1914 and her position to-day presents an almost unbelievable record of progress and its consideration should spur us all on to further effort, so that the full fruits of what has been so hardly won may be realised, and that we should "Think nothing done while aught remains to do."

The Vote—A Means to an End.

We are especially to remind ourselves that the fact of possessing the franchise will not in itself gain us any advantage; *it is the use we make of our voting strength* that will determine how soon the old bad conditions will be altered, and the peace of the world ensured. It is the duty of those women who have gained a part, if not full equal rights with the men in these respective countries, to see that all their influence is exerted for the political benefit of women in those nations where that right has not been conceded.

Co-operators, men and women alike, have ever been in the fore-front of the fight for the recognition of women as working partners with their menfolks in the public and private politics of the country. To-day, to women as to men, there comes with a fresh and more individual and personal appeal than was ever before the case, the stirring call of Mazzini:—

"Up then! And let us be great in our time. For this it is necessary to understand our mission in its fulness."

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* The first woman mayor in Belgium has recently been elected in the person of Mlle. Keignaerts, elected Mayor of Ghelwvelt, near Ypres.

THE WORK OF THE STATISTICAL BUREAU OF THE SWISS CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

ECONOMIC statistics have come within the scope of the Union of Swiss co-operative societies ever since the year of its successful establishment in the year 1890 ; and, as a matter of course, the accounts of the affiliated societies formed the subject of statistical investigation first of all. Later on came statistics with regard to the registered co-operative societies of all kinds, and finally, two years ago, came the regular compilation of statistics with regard to co-operative retail prices and the cost of living.

The statistical work was originally executed by a single employee engaged also in other tasks ; but with the enlargement of the range of work and the commencement of an investigation into retail prices and the cost of living above all, it became necessary to increase the number of employees engaged in statistical work, and there arose a real statistical section (termed the Economic Statistical Bureau) in connection with the office of the Union's department for propaganda, law, and education.

The Primary Investigation.

The first attempt at a statistical survey of Swiss distributive co-operative affairs was made in 1883—the year in which the Swiss law of obligations was introduced, *i.e.*, the law which placed co-operative societies throughout the country on a binding legal basis. This primary investigation showed that there were 121 distributive co-operative societies in existence with a capital of 1,973,779 francs, a turnover of 12,168,754 francs, a reserve fund of 722,528 francs, and a collective membership of 22,079. Only once again was the task undertaken of compiling statistics of the whole Swiss distributive co-operative movement, and this took place in the year 1894, when 198 distributive co-operative societies were enumerated—societies with a collective membership of 58,071, a turnover of 23,224,470 francs, a net surplus of 1,945,691 francs, a share capital of 1,967,528 francs, property of the value of 1,849,030 francs, whilst the number of stores amounted to 299, and the number of employees to 877.

Further Investigation.

All the other investigations were confined to the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies. The results at first might not form a correct picture of the position of the entire Swiss co-operative movement ; but to-day, when the great majority of all distributive societies (including all the most important of them) belong to the Union, the statistics of the Union in themselves constitute a tolerably faithful

reflection of the Swiss co-operative movement as a whole. The first compilation of this kind was made in the year 1891, and the second in 1898, and thenceforward year by year statistics more or less comprehensive have been regularly compiled. To show the striking development revealed through the medium of these statistics we give herewith in juxtaposition the most important figures for the years 1891, 1900, 1910, and 1920 :—

	1891.	1900.	1910.	1920.
Societies of the Union	43	118	328	493
Membership of Societies ...	35,000	83,549	212,322	362,284
Shops	?	419	993	1,806
Employees	?	1,103	3,752	7,253
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
Turnover	14,500,000	32,725,427	100,212,999	330,822,645
Net Surplus	1,184,000	3,203,538	8,500,172	16,340,235
Divi.	?	2,391,991	6,973,335	13,789,648
Co-operative Property	?	1,916,284	8,104,272	19,364,799
Share Capital	?	1,217,682	3,252,895	8,483,926

If Switzerland had a government department for social statistics such as has been established by a whole row of States, the Union's sphere of statistical operations would have become limited to the yearly statistical compilations relating to the societies affiliated to the Union itself ; but the lack of a government department of the kind referred to has, however, led the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies to undertake two further compilations, not so directly touching itself, viz., the statistics with regard to the whole of the Swiss co-operative societies on the register, and the regular compilation of statistics concerning retail prices and the cost of living.

The Statistics of Registered Co-operative Societies.

The work of compiling the statistics of the registered co-operative societies was undertaken in 1912. There was, however, a regularly issued periodical (the "Swiss Trade-office Journal," which had been published since the year 1883) to draw upon ; but the outbreak of the war brought the work to a standstill. True it is that to-day the work of transcribing all the registrations on to a card-register has been gone on with, but the card-register itself has only been brought up to the year 1908. The statistics are limited to the data found in the "Trade Register," viz., firms, addresses, year of establishment, and economic operations. An extension to the particulars relating to the co-operative societies individually will scarcely be possible for the future, inasmuch as a task of this kind is far beyond the capacity of the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies. Nevertheless, Switzerland to-day contains about 11,000 co-operative societies, as is estimated. At the end of the year 1908 the number of co-operative societies figured at

6,305, amongst which the dairy societies (1,950 in number) occupied the foremost place. After these, but at a considerable distance, came the cattle-breeding societies, 857 in number, the agricultural supplying societies (461), the distributive co-operative societies (375), and the water supplying societies (300). Besides these there were 866 associations valid according to Swiss law, which allows pretty nearly all economic and non-economic associations to adopt the form of co-operative societies, even though they are not co-operative societies in reality. Amongst the Swiss co-operative societies, the distributive societies occupy the most important place, not numerically, it is true, but yet by reason of their economic importance.

The Cost of Living Investigation.

The statistics which the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies has finally compiled, namely, the statistics relating to retail prices and the cost of living, decidedly rank first in importance as regards public interest. Up to a short time ago the Union's index-number relating to the cost of living was the only one in all Switzerland, and the few index-numbers which have lately been brought out have either been lacking in continuity or have been purely local in character.

The index-number of the Union dates back to 1912, since which year the Union has on the first day of March, June, September, and December made a regular quarterly compilation of the price statistics of all the societies in affiliation—price statistics relating to about 50 commodities of general consumption, including food commodities first and foremost. Owing to the fact, however, that the quarterly survey proved inadequate as regards certain purposes, the statistics since June 1st, 1919, have also been collected monthly from the societies operating in localities containing over 10,000 inhabitants, of which there were at first 23, but 25 from June 1st, 1921.

It may be stated that a "Swiss League for the cheapening of the cost of living" had been established in 1913, mainly with the aim of investigating all questions relating to the standard of living, and particularly that of the working classes, and to this organisation the task of dealing with the materials was handed over. On the basis of the price-data of the societies the Swiss average quarterly prices were calculated first of all. For the purpose of giving clear expression to the great and varied significance of individual price data as regards the standard of living of the population, the method adopted was not that of forming a mere arithmetical mean, but on the contrary the average was worked out on the principle that every price obtained a "weight" in the shape of the membership of the distributive society for which the price availed. In other words, each price was multiplied by the membership of the society concerned, and then the sum of the numbers thus "weighted" was divided by the number of members of

the societies which had furnished price particulars. And thus were obtained "weighted" prices revealing the significance of the individual prices, for the collective administration of affairs.

In this manner the average Swiss prices of a series of articles were obtained first of all, and this was certainly a considerable step; but for real satisfaction it was requisite to set forth these prices in figures expressive of their significance in domestic economy; that is, to form an index-number with regard to the cost of living. This requirement was met by the circumstance that the Swiss Labour Secretariat had in 1912 compiled a comprehensive body of economic statistics, and that the compiler thereof was the same man who had in hand the compilation of the price statistics of the Union of Swiss Consumers' Societies; and so the formation of a Swiss index-number was rendered easy. From approximately 800 household budgets the quantities of the most important food commodities consumed as well as of a series of other articles of domestic consumption or use were ascertained, and then the quantities consumed were brought into relation (*i.e.*, multiplied) with the average prices, and thus the cost of living for every appointed date was ascertained, that is, every quarter from the 1st of March, 1912, and also every month since the 1st of June, 1919. When we say cost of living, it is going perhaps a little too far, inasmuch as the index-number applies only to about a third of the total expenditure in the domestic budgets from the year 1912. On the other hand, however, this imperfect index-number gives a pretty correct picture, and, as during the war there was no other possibility of getting a proper grasp of the extent of the rise in prices, the index-number has also rendered an immense service to the country and has helped, in no small degree, to make the Union of Swiss Co-operative Societies a well-known name. Meanwhile, since the 1st of July, 1919, the compilation of the price statistics has been transferred to the economic-statistical Bureau of the Union.

As already stated, the index-number consists of two factors, one of them fixed (the quantities consumed) and the other mobile (the prices). It was often objected that the index-number is still based on a consumption which to-day has no reality. But this objection is entirely unfounded, for if it must be admitted that consumption, in part, changed very considerably during the war period, and that in Switzerland (which remained outside the war) many retrenchments were necessary, yet to-day there again exists the natural endeavour to return to the standard of living of the pre-war period, and must, on the other hand (if a summary comparison be possible), be the one factor invariable of the two concerned.

The most important results of the statistical investigations into the cost of living are as follows:—

	Index Number for the Country.		Index Number for the Towns.	
June 1st, 1914	1,043·63	100,0	1,066·70	100,0
June 1st, 1915	1,237·10	118,6	.....	.....
June 1st, 1916	1,455·92	139,5	.....	.....
June 1st, 1917	1,865·67	179,7	.....	.....
June 1st, 1918	2,397·18	229,3	.....	.....
June 1st, 1919	2,727·77	216,4	2,703·87	253,5
October 1st, 1920	.....	.....	2,496·07	234,0
June 1st, 1920	2,540·71	243,4	2,545·08	238,6
September 1st, 1920	2,695·52	258,3	.....	.....
October 1st, 1920	.....	.....	2,790·53	261,6
March 1st, 1921	2,503·02	240,3	.....	.....
June 1st, 1921	.....	.....	2,236·99	209,7
July 1st, 1921	.....	.....	2,282·13	213,9
September 1st, 1921	.....	.....	2,202·39	206,5

In Switzerland the increase of prices reached its two highest points on the 1st of June, 1919, and the 1st of October, 1920. Since then the index-number has almost continuously retrogressed, and to all appearance the index-number for the 1st of October will also show a fall of a few points, so that in a short time it will fall below 200, and then the increase since 1914 will no longer amount to 100 per cent.

WORKING-WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL.

THE Second International Congress of Working Women assembled at the Athenée, Geneva, Switzerland, on October 17th, 1921, under the presidency of Mrs. Raymond Robins (National Women's Trade Union League of America). The attending delegates represented organisations in 11 countries, and in addition thereto there were visitors and guests from eight countries (including China, Japan, Rumania and South Africa) besides fraternal delegates from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Mr. J. Oudegeest gave the opening greetings in the name of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and Mlle. E. Gourd (President of the Swiss Association for Woman Suffrage) gave a greeting on behalf of the women of Switzerland. Miss Margaret Bondfield (Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress), vice-president, introduced the President (Mrs. Raymond Robins) who in her inaugural address paid a touching tribute to the memory of Mary MacArthur, the first vice-president of the Congress, and intrepid leader of the working-women of Great Britain.

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONSUMERS' MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

By James Peter Warbasse.

(*President of the Co-operative League of America.*)

The Beginnings in America.

CO-OPERATION in the United States has suffered many difficulties. The spirit of individualism among the people, the newness of the country, the great variety of races and nationalities, the presence of frontiers into which a fluid population could be kept moving, and the hopeful possibilities of escape from poverty have militated against co-operative development. The strenuous competition among private tradesmen, the allurements through business advertising, and the power of monopolies and vested interests have been potent factors against co-operative development in later times. The United States is the land of business; and in every part of the country promoters are projecting spurious "co-operative" societies as private business enterprises. These vary from the wildest and most fanciful schemes to the rankest sort of clever humbug. They are taking millions of dollars from the working people and leaving them hostile in their ignorance to true co-operation.

Co-operative consumers' societies have existed in the United States since 1845. Before that there were the co-operative or communist colonies which settled upon the land and carried on farming and all sorts of productive and distributive enterprises co-operatively. The oldest of these was established in 1787. The first co-operative store was opened in 1845, in Boston. For fifty years after that, the trade unions were the chief promoters of co-operation. But their societies failed. Lack of education and standardization was the defect of these societies.

Recent Developments.

New life came into the movement with the immigrant people from countries which had well established co-operative societies. Many of the farmers of the western and northern states came from Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, and brought with them a knowledge of co-operation. Also the foreign-born industrial workers in all parts of the country during the past decade have been making more successful experiments in organisation than had ever before been attained. But it has been especially since the year 1916 that the greatest impetus to the movement has been seen. This has been due partly to the conspicuousness of profiteering and the obvious evils of the competitive system, and partly to the work of the Co-operative League of America in promoting the knowledge of the fundamentals of co-operation, and giving standardised advice.

All over the country the movement has developed. It has been sporadic. No centre can be designated as the seat of the renaissance of co-operation. The agricultural people of the northern states have been among the first in this new era. The Co-operative League of America has knowledge of over 3,000 true consumers' co-operative societies conducting stores. In some locations the purchasing power of groups of societies has become so great that they have federated and organised local wholesale societies.

Among the Farmers.

The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union began in Texas. It has spread into nearly every state. It is particularly strong in Kansas, where there are to-day 500 co-operative societies conducting retail stores. Nebraska has about 300 societies with stores. The Farmers' State Exchange at Omaha, Nebraska, is a central wholesale house doing a business of $3,000,000 a year. These stores deal in groceries, clothing, shoes, dry goods, hardware and furniture. The same societies also conduct exchanges for the sale of hay, coal, fertiliser, seeds and farm machinery, and for the marketing of farm produce. There are many co-operative grain elevators. Several societies have their own flour mills. Some societies in these states are over forty years old, and have over 1,000 members each.

Iowa has about 150 societies operating retail stores. Missouri and Oklahama have 100 distributive societies. Encouraging development is taking place in Colorado and the neighbouring states.

Many store societies in the northern states—Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas and Montana—are growing up in the farmers' produce-selling organisations. Their wealth, numbers, and the size of their membership, are increasing steadily. Among the largest of these is the society at Menomonie, Wisc. (organised in 1891), which has thirteen stores, $800,000 paid in capital, does a business of $4,000,000 a year, and pays a savings return of 10 per cent. Many of the same organisations which conduct stores also market the farmers' products on a co-operative basis. Some of them own grain elevators, others are organised to sell live stock, and not a few conduct a meat-packing business. Among these societies are several organisations which manage groups of distributive societies, and do their book-keeping, auditing, buying, and generally supervise their work. One has a mail order business. There are in the United States 12,000 agricultural producers' organisations. These are all becoming interested in Consumers' Co-operation. Among them is a steadily increasing tendency to establish distributive consumers' stores.

Some Modern Examples.

In the northern peninsula of Michigan are forty societies. Two of these date back to 1890. They conduct stores and sell groceries, furniture, dry goods, coal, hardware, and clothing. One has 1,700

members. Since it started it has every year without interruption paid interest on capital and paid savings-returns on purchases, the latter never having been less than 8 per cent nor more than 13 per cent. It has thus returned to its members $1,595,185 in cash in thirty years. Its business amounts to $800,000 a year. This is an exceptionally old, exceptionally large, and exceptionally successful society.

Groups of miners and of steel workers have organised co-operative stores in Pennsylvania under the encouragement of the State Federation of Labour and of the United Mine Workers. There are about 200 societies in Pennsylvania with an average membership of 150 each.

Illinois has about 100 societies. The dominant influence among them is also that of the United Mine Workers. More than half of these are connected with the Central States Co-operative Wholesale Society. There are between thirty and forty independent Rochdale societies owning stock in the Wholesale and sixty trade union stores connected with it. The business of this wholesale in 1920 was $3,500,000. It has $300,000 capital, and owns its own warehouse.

The $10,000,000 annual business which these Illinois societies do is largely in the hands of working men, who have come out of the mines and shops and taken charge of financial affairs. A society in Chicago with 1,200 members conducts a school with 400 Polish students.

Illinois is but an index of what is going on in the neighbouring states. Groups of societies are developing in Indiana, Ohio, Arkansas, and the other middle western states.

In the north-west the labour unions of Seattle have become interested in co-operation. The state of Washington has about 100 societies. Behind them is the support of the labour unions. In the winter of 1919, the Co-operative Society of Seattle fed the families of the striking shipyard workers when the city authorities and the private merchants conspired to starve them out.

An older co-operative movement is found in California. The Rochdale movement was started there fully twenty years ago. It experienced many vicissitudes. A wholesale was organised, but it has failed to give substantial help.

The Finns in America.

A group which has done more than any other nationality to promote the efficient administration of co-operation in the United States are the Finns. They have the intelligence, the solidarity, and the traditions necessary for success.

One of the substantial institutions of the north is the Co-operative Central Exchange at Superior, Wisconsin. It is an educational and

(*Continued on page 225*).

DR. J. P. WARBASSE.

DR. J. P. WARBASSE, President of the Co-operative League of America, was born in New Jersey, in the United States. His ancestors were the Pilgrims and Puritans who first settled in New England in the early part of the seventeenth Century. His name is derived from ancestors who came from Denmark. The town of Vorbasse, in Denmark, retains the original spelling of the name. The father and mother of Benjamin Franklin are among his English ancestors.

Dr. Warbasse was educated in Columbia University in New York, and in the universities of Göttingen and Vienna in Europe. He practised surgery in New York for twenty-five years, and was a voluminous contributor to the literature of surgery. A large work in three volumes constituted his valedictory to his profession. This was published when he retired from surgical practice; it has had an enormous sale in America, and a large sale in Europe, Asia, and South America. It is the only work on the technique of surgery which discusses also the economics of that profession, and even its relation to co-operation.

Always devoting much of his time to social work, Dr. Warbasse was drawn more and more to the co-operative movement. In the prime of life, and in the fullness of his vigour, to the astonishment of his colleagues, he finally gave up his profession in order to devote all of his time to co-operation. "There are plenty of surgeons to patch up damaged individuals, but the bigger and more important task is to heal a sick society." To this task he gives himself whole heartedly. He was one of the organisers of the Co-operative League of America, which resulted from a series of meetings held at his house in 1915 and 1916. This was the first effective attempt to unite the American movement and standardise educational work. The League is the national union of co-operative societies of the United States. It is steadily growing in size, influence, and efficiency. The educational secretary of the League is Mrs. Warbasse. These two representatives of the American movement were delegates to the Tenth International Congress at Basle. They have just completed a tour of the co-operative societies in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, and Great Britain, where they have been seeking light which may be useful in guiding the rapidly developing movement in the United States.

Dr. Warbasse, besides giving his time to administrative duties, travels much about the country lecturing before labour and co-operative conventions and congresses. He gives a course of lectures on co-operation at Columbia University during the winter semester. This is the first course on this subject in an American university to be given by a practical worker in the field of co-operation.

DR. J. P. WARBASSE,
President of the Co-operative League of America.

wholesaling organisation of the Finns. Fifty societies belong to it. These represent about 5,000 individual members. It is an example of a slow-growing enterprise which is building upon the soundest possible foundation. It ships flour as far as Boston, Mass. It is the first American wholesale to go into manufacturing, having a bakery which ships its products to over fifty Finnish societies. The most noteworthy enterprise conducted by this society is a school for the training of co-operative executives. The courses embrace history and principles of co-operation, economics, sociology, business methods and correspondence, English and composition, and business arithmetic.

In Massachusetts is another group of Finnish societies. These united with other co-operative societies in the district in 1919 to form a wholesale, with head-quarters in Boston, called the New England Co-operative Wholesale Society. It is made up of about thirty co-operative enterprises.

These Finnish societies not only conduct stores of different kinds, but they have restaurants, boarding houses, bakeries, banks, milk distribution and recreational houses. In New York City they have several co-operative apartment houses. One of their societies has a bakery with $120,000 paid in capital. The central bank at Fitchburg, Mass., receives the deposits of the members and finances their enterprises. Other Finnish societies which are closely allied to the co-operatives conduct printing houses which publish several daily papers, weeklies, and monthly magazines. They have done much to develop the social, educational, and recreational aspects of co-operation. Their club houses, theatres and amusement parks are the best America has in these forms of co-operation. Unfortunately, these Finns take politics very seriously, and at present their movement is badly split into a right and left wing.

Various Expressions of Co-operation.

Other national and racial groups, not mentioned above, which have made notable progress are the English, Scotch, Jews, Russians, and Italians. The Federation of Jewish Co-operative Societies represents thirty-five societies conducting restaurants, bakeries, butcher shops, and agricultural organisations.

In the United States are now found successful examples of co-operation entering many and varied fields of industry. Perhaps one of the most successful forms is the bakery. There are about thirty of these. One of the best examples is the bakery of the Purity Co-operative Society of Paterson, New Jersey. This society was organised in 1906, has over 1,000 members, and owns its own buildings, which represent assets of over $100,000. The Newark, New Jersey, Baking Society has 1,600 members; and the Brownsville, New York, Society has a like membership. The Cleveland, Ohio, Co-operative

Bakery has 2,600 members. Four Jewish bakeries in the New York district, doing a business of $20,000 a week and using 700 barrels of flour a week, have recently formed a purchasing federation.

A form of co-operation which is unique in the United States are the co-operative schools. They are organised, owned and administered by the students. There are three of these schools in New York City which prepare students for college and regents examinations and give business courses. The students are the consumers; they hire the teachers, who work absolutely under the direction of the students. Compared with the private profit-making schools in this field, these co-operative schools are superior in every respect.

In the northern and middle western states are several hundred co-operative telephone companies. Many of these date back thirty and forty years, when the poles and wires were put up by the farmers and the central switchboard was located in a farmer's house and attended by the wife and daughters.

Fraternal societies which carry on life insurance and other activities have made progress also during the past fifty years. These organisations are co-operative to a high degree. There are in the United States over 550 fraternal beneficiary societies, with over 9,000,000 members and nearly $10,000,000,000 of insurance in force. About $100,000,000 annually in benefits are paid.

One of the most successful forms of Consumers' Co-operation in the United States is seen in farmers' fire insurance. There are about 2,000 of these mutual fire insurance companies. They carry insurance exceeding $5,250,000,000 on property valued at nearly $7,000,000,000. This insurance is carried at one-half the rate charged by the commercial companies. The insurance is cheaper because the expenses are less and the moral hazard is largely removed. These fraternal and insurance societies are not yet connected with the co-operative movement.

Unemployment during the first half of the year 1921 resulted in the failure of many weak societies, and because of lack of money among the working people few new societies were organised.

A peculiarity of the movement in the United States is that serious consideration is given to the employees. They are paid, on the whole, better than the employees in similar private businesses. Union labour is preferred by most and insisted upon by a large proportion of the societies.

The Co-operative League.

The First National Co-operative Convention was held at Springfield, Illinois, in 1918. The Second National Convention was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1920. Both conventions were organised and conducted by the Co-operative League of America. The League

is an educational organisation, and conducts no stores. It sells nothing but literature and services. As yet there is no national wholesale.

The League is the central national union of co-operative societies. It publishes a large amount of literature, which it sends out at cost to every part of the country. It has made it possible for societies to secure standardised information on all aspects of co-operation. It has connections in every state and sends out advisers and lecturers. Its educational work fills a need never before supplied in this country.

The League is composed of 400 consumers' societies, having a membership of about 100,000 individuals. Already the best and the strongest societies are members of the League. The number of member societies is constantly increasing. District leagues, affiliated with the League, are being formed in the various states.

Every year since 1916, the American Federation of Labour has endorsed Consumers' Co-operation. The labour publications throughout the country carry on propaganda. The result is as follows : The subject of co-operation is brought up in the union locals ; a committee is appointed to get information ; the committee writes to the League ; advice and literature are forwarded ; the group is put in touch with the nearest sound society ; an adviser is sent ; a society is organised ; a committee on education and other necessary committees are elected ; and a store is opened. This is the natural course of events. Unfortunately, this course is not followed in all cases. There are to-day hundreds of groups of working people who have been lead into pitifully hopeless schemes, their societies are failing, and their money is slipping away. The one great need of the movement in this country is more education and more trained people to guide and administer co-operative enterprises.

With a central organisation to guide it, the movement can now be saved from entering the by-paths which, in the past, have been so disastrous. It is still in a plastic state, and is seeking for the best that the experience in other lands can offer. In the near future it may make its own contribution, and add another arm of strength to the forces of co-operation.

The Co-operative Movement in America is developing in close alliance with the Labour Movement. The mission of American Co-operation should be to play a large part in the drama of social re-organisation ; and side by side with the united forces of co-operation in other lands, it should move on toward the redemption of the world.

COLLAPSE OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING SCHEME.

By L. G. C.

IN the minds of all earnest housing reformers, especially of those who had brought themselves to believe seriously in the genuineness of the Government's professed housing policy, the year 1921 will be remembered as the year of "The Great Betrayal." This is no fancy phrase, empty of meaning. The drastic curtailing of housing schemes all over the country, which has been enforced by the Ministry of Health, is a real betrayal of the many thousands of families who are unable to secure decent housing accommodation. After promises, reiterated time after time by Cabinet ministers, from the Premier downwards, that the Government was determined to provide such housing accommodation as would make England a country fit for heroes to live in, we are suddenly told that all the projected housing schemes either have to be scrapped completely or whittled down to less than half; and in place of the discarded portion the country is promised £200,000 a year for the "improvement of slums!" No wonder Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., in the House of Commons, on July 25th, referred to Sir Alfred Mond's announcement as the "most classic instance of pledge-breaking that could be adduced even amongst this Government's broken pledges." It is an infamy; illustrating once more how shamelessly the powers that be let down the working-class section of the community—the section, that is, which cannot afford to pay a profiteering price for a house in order to get possession of a dwelling-place.

Necessity Urgent as Ever.

We have had a housing problem for generations. It is doubtful, indeed, whether there ever has been a sufficient number of decent dwellings to house the population under healthy conditions, and the necessity is as urgent as ever it was. The 1921 census returns emphasize so much. Practically every local authority carrying out housing schemes has long waiting lists of would-be tenants. Thus Manchester had over 15,000 applications before they closed the list; Coventry had 6,000; Leeds, 5,700; Salford, 2,200. These are large industrial areas. In smaller places overcrowding is rampant. At a Housing and Town Planning Conference held in Leeds on July 1st and 2nd last, Captain Hallam (Assistant Director of Housing for Hemsworth) stated he had come across three cases, in the village of Grimsthorpe, where from 21 to 27 persons were occupying four rooms (two up and two down houses).

From all over the country bitter criticism of the Government's new policy of curtailment is heard from local authorities. The latter feel that they have been left in the lurch; after being urged by the Ministry

of Health to prepare plans with all possible speed, they find themselves with liabilities incurred which they cannot now discharge. Take the experience of Rawtenstall Corporation as a typical example. At the August (1921) meeting of the Council, Councillor Barnes (chairman of the Housing Committee) very strongly criticised the Government's policy. He stated that the original arrangement with the Ministry of Health was for 1,195 houses. Contracts for 580 of these had been let, and the progress of building had been fairly satisfactory. But on July 6th last, the Housing Commissioner for that area intimated that no houses should be commenced on one of the sites, where, as a matter of fact, 72 had been commenced (and incidentally we may add, 100 men were employed). An interview with the Commissioner brought no satisfaction, and the committee determined to continue with the 580 houses contracted for. The committee were also threatened by the contractors that if the contract was reduced they should claim compensation. A further interview (this time involving a journey to London to see the Director of Housing Contracts) resulted in an ultimatum by the Director that if the contractors would agree to a reduction of the contract from 580 to 400 houses *without* compensation for reduction, then 400 could be proceeded with ; *otherwise only* 255 *would be sanctioned.* After further interviews between Housing Committee and contractors, the latter agreed to the reduction to the 400 houses without a claim for compensation, and these are now being erected. This, however, represents only a third of the original scheme. What has happened at Rawtenstall has taken place everywhere in the country.

Review of the National Policy.

Before dealing with the situation arising out of the Government's latest decision, it will be useful to review the course of events since the Government first decided to deal with the housing question on semi-national lines nearly five years ago. Up to 1914, the housing problem had gradually become more and more grave, owing to the fact that private builders were erecting fewer houses each year, and local authorities practically none at all ; while at the same time the population was increasing on an average by 360,000 persons annually. To accentuate the evil, all house building was stopped during the war, except such as was urgently required to house munition workers at various centres. It was this latter necessity which focussed the attention of the Government on the prevailing house shortage.

In 1917, therefore, the late Lord Downham (then Mr. Hayes Fisher, President of the Local Government Board) caused inquiries to be made from 1,800 local authorities as to the immediate housing requirements in their respective localities. The first returns led him to admit that, on a conservative estimate, at least 200,000 were then urgently needed. A month later he increased his estimate to 300,000 ; and early in 1918 both he and Dr. Addison (then Minister of Reconstruction) were in agreement that not less than half-a-million new houses would meet the need.

The result of this preliminary investigation was that on March 18th, 1918, the President of the Local Government Board issued a circular promising State financial assistance to all local authorities who undertook to carry out approved housing schemes as soon as the war was over. My readers are probably acquainted with the terms offered, so that it is unnecessary to detail them here, except to say that the chief feature in the proposal was that, though the local authority had to finance the schemes in the first instance, they would not be responsible, ultimately, for any greater financial burden than could be raised by a penny rate locally. Any excess of cost over what this rate realised would be refunded out of the national exchequer when the schemes had been completed and approved. Financial assistance was also offered to what were described as public utility societies, and later, to private builders. These proposals of the Government were criticised from many sides, but their broad outlines were accepted generally. Municipal authorities throughout the country set to work on the preparation of housing schemes to the extent that, eventually, applications providing for close on 300,000 houses were submitted.

In the meantime, changes had been taking place in the Government Department concerned. Mr. Hayes Fisher, who, as President of the Local Government Board, did a lot of useful spade work, suddenly resigned. Shortly afterwards, the Local Government Board was incorporated into the new Ministry of Health, at the head of which was Dr. Addison, who had been acting for some time as Minister of Reconstruction. And for two and a half years—practically up to his leaving the Ministry of Health early in 1921—Dr. Addison's main activities have been concerned with the Government housing policy. Under his authority and guidance the Housing and Town Planning Bill (1919) was framed and piloted through Parliament, where it finally became the operative Act on July 31st, 1919.

Dilatory Dr. Addison.

Opinions vary as to whether Dr. Addison has had a genuine desire to see the housing problem properly tackled with a view to its solution, and whether, as head of the Department charged with dealing with the problem, he has gone about the work in the right way. Mr. S. G. Hobson, one of the chief promoters of the building guilds, for instance, says he has no tears to shed over Dr. Addison's supersession as Minister of Health ; he declares that Dr. Addison was a weak man dominated by the master builders of the country, and that he simply got what he deserved in being deposed. On the other hand, Mr. Stephen Easten, ex-president of the National Federation of Building Trade Employers, and Housing Commissioner for the North-eastern area under the Ministry of Health, quarrelled with Dr. Addison, and resigned his position as commissioner on the ground that the building guilds were receiving more advantageous conditions as regards terms of tendering than were granted to private builders. Still others consider that the

deposed minister has simply been made the scapegoat for the Government's default. Personally, I believe the late Minister of Health did desire to see something substantial and effective done to remedy the vile housing conditions which prevail all over the country—rural as well as urban ; but I am also very strongly of the opinion that he has gone about the business in the wrong way. The numerous complaints from municipal authorities of the delays occasioned by the Ministry of Health's methods have been well founded. Apart from questions of finance, Dr. Addison has been too much engrossed in the framing of all sorts of regulations, memoranda, and instructions, many of which have been useless and have given rise only to irritation and confusion ; he has been too dilatory in getting on to the actual work of building. Dr. Addison, in a word, has apparently tried to get houses built by a printing machine.

How Costs of Building Rose.

While the Minister of Health was issuing pamphlets, manuals, and other publications by thousands, and local authorities were fretting at the inattention given to their submitted schemes, costs of building were rising rapidly, and unnecessarily so. In their first calculations of cost the Government adopted as a basis for comparison the class of house —working-class dwelling—which in pre-war days could be built for about £200. On this basis it was estimated that a similar house would cost double that sum by the time the war was over. But after the passing of the 1919 Act, and tenders began to reach municipalities in greater numbers, it was found that instead of about £400 per house being the figure, as anticipated, the cost varied from £415 per house for 16 at Cambridge, to £1,000 per house for 62 at Halifax. Before the end of 1919 the average tender worked out at over £800 per house ; and since that time until about April or May of 1921, when costs began to decline, several tenders were sent in at well over £1,000 per house. These figures of course being exclusive of cost of land and laying out of roads and streets. Here are a few typical tenders accepted early in 1921 :—

Place.	No. of Houses.	Cost per House.
Mold	54	£1,074
Ayr County Council	1,226	1,025
Frodsham	60	1,015
Sowerby (Thirsk)	14	1,010
Cheltenham	20	998
Leyland	29	950
Newcastle-on-Tyne	160	920
Bromley (Kent)	300	900

One need not extend the list, as the above sufficiently illustrates how far out were the original estimates of house-building costs.

Responsibility for High Costs.

Some attempt has been made to fix the cause for these tremendous increases of building costs on the advances made in the wages of operatives engaged in the building and allied trades. The report of the

Department Committee on the High Cost of Building Working-class Dwellings issued last August (1921), for example, states that—

> The high cost of labour, including that involved in producing building material and in transport, has been the principal cause of the high cost of building.

But with all due deference to the members of that committee, I believe their contention cannot be legitimately sustained. The tenders submitted show advances of nearly 400 per cent over pre-war costs ; but I know of no branch of labour engaged either directly in building operations or in the production of building materials in which wages have advanced even 275 per cent. A more potent cause has been the profiteering on the part of suppliers of building materials ; and master builders themselves cannot be acquitted of having taken undue advantage of the extraordinary circumstances. As an instance of the latter's culpability in this matter, one may relate the experience of Sir Edwin Holt as given by him at a meeting of the Manchester City Council recently. He had had an account rendered for some building work done for him ; one of the items was 3s. 8d. per hour for labour, when as a matter of fact the wages paid were 2s. 1d. per hour. The building employer in this case was making a profit of 1s. 7d. per hour —or nearly 80 per cent—on labour alone.

With regard to materials one might take some building tenders as examples of abnormally increased prices. The figures here given are for similar classes of goods in the respective years :—

1914. Prices per Standard.	1919. Prices per Standard.	1914. Prices per Standard	1919. Prices per Standard
£9. 5s. and £12	£49	£9. 15s.	£50
£10	48	£11	54

Labour charges certainly did not account for these differences in timber prices ; but it is correct to say that timber importers and merchants were receiving pounds per standard profit in 1919 and 1920 where they received shillings in 1914. Even under Government control a margin of £3. 15s. per standard was allowed to merchants on timbers on which in pre-war days a profit of 10s. per standard would have been extremely welcome.

Mr. Norman McKellen, secretary of the National Federation of House-builders, at the annual conference of this organisation held at Birmingham in June, 1921, read a paper on "Costs of Building," in which he stated :—

> The Government and the profiteer are responsible for the high costs of building. Labour costs have increased on an average 200 per cent, and if the cost of a house was 200 per cent up no complaint could be made ; and many more houses would have been erected. *But it is in materials that we get the heavy and unreasonable costs.*

Mr. McKellen dealt with this point at some length. "The Department for Building Material Supplies (a Government buying department)," he said, "had purchased so largely and so rashly as to give every appearance of creating a corner in the market for many building goods ; *and manufacturers have played up to this, and thus prices have soared up to their present heights.*" A statement like that, backed up as

it was with many illustrations, coming from a responsible official of an employers' federation whose members in normal circumstances have to purchase their building materials and labour in the open market, should help to effectually dispose of the charge that inflated wages have been mainly responsible for the high costs of house building.

The Present Position.

Immediately Sir Alfred Mond superseded Dr. Addison as Minister of Health in April, 1921, he intimated that a limitation to the number of houses to be built under the Government's housing scheme would have to be arrived at, and many of the projected schemes reduced. On July 14th in the House of Commons he outlined his scheme of modification, which he amplified in a circular issued from the Ministry of Health on July 25th. The circular is too long to give here, but its main provisions may be summarised as follows :—

> Local authorities are instructed to enter into no further commitments, either in the completing of purchase of land (though negotiations may be well advanced), in preparation of plans, or any other steps, without the express sanction of the Minister of Health. Disposal of land already acquired for housing purposes will be considered by the Minister. Local authorities are advised to review their staffs engaged for housing purposes, with a view to their reduction. As regards finance, if loans already raised or arranged are sufficient for immediate needs, no further loans are to be accepted, and issue of local housing bonds should cease forthwith.
>
> As regards subsidies to private builders, the Government limits these to houses actually commenced before July 1st, 1921, under a duly authorised certificate, and completed not later than June 23rd, 1922 ; except in special cases where commitments had been entered into before July 14th, 1921, and in which cases, should actual construction work have begun on or before August 25th, 1921, the subsidy will be paid within the prescribed terms of the subsidy scheme. The amount of the subsidy is unaltered, *i.e.*, £260, £240, and £230 per house, according to super-feet of floor space.
>
> A sum of £200,000 will be set aside towards the deficiency on local authorities' accounts for the improvement of slum areas.

The maximum number of houses to be completed under the Government housing scheme by municipalities and public utility societies is 176,000 ; and by private builders from 23,000 to 24,000, and the latter must be completed before June 23rd, 1922, in order to qualify for the subsidy. This total of 200,000 houses includes those already completed, in course of erection, or to be commenced. Of this number it is estimated that about 60,000 are finished, leaving 140,000 to be built ; and of the latter number quite 50,000 have not even been started. These are for the schemes in England and Wales. In Scotland the position is even worse. Over two years ago Mr. Munro (Secretary for Scotland) outlined a programme providing for about 130,000 houses, and plans for 113,000 have been formally approved by the Government. Now the scheme is cut down to the erection of 24,500 houses over a period of two years. £30,000 per annum is to be allocated for the improvement of slum property ; " just about enough," commented Mr. Hogge, in the House of Commons on July 28th, " to provide a lick of paint to the slum property in Leith."

The annual cost to the State under the local authorities and public utility societies in England and Wales is £10,000,000 ; and for private builders' subsidies the total amount involved is about £5,000,000 ; in Scotland the amounts are £1,087,450 and £550,000 respectively.

Towards Reduced Costs.

Had the Government placed a ban on house-building, say, a year ago, when prices were at abnormal levels, such action would have been more readily understood. But the step was taken just when costs were declining. Wages were being cut, and some building materials, timber for example, were considerably lower in price. Tenders were beginning to show reductions of from £100 to £300 or more per house. Here are some tenders accepted during the months of May, June, and July, 1921, which indicate this :—

	Per House.		
Leeds (four tenders)—			
150 Houses	"A" Type, £608	"B" Type, £709	"C" Type, £669
100 „	„ 643	„ 738	„ 700
48 „	„ 650	„ 739	„ 669
400 „	„ 665	„ 775	„ 720
Macclesfield—			
26 Houses (concrete)	"A" Type, £780	"B" Type, £847	
Bath, 194 Houses			745
Attleborough, 100 Houses			596
Stamford, 66 Houses			756
Wilmslow	"A" Type, £630	"B" Type, £900	

At Stalybridge a most remarkable revision of original tenders was reported. The first tenders for 40 houses worked out at £1,260 per house, and were declined. Six months later prices were submitted averaging £756 per house ; these also were refused by the Corporation in the hope of obtaining still lower tenders. The tabulated figures are, of course, still high, and the economic rent to yield a satisfactory return would tax the ordinary wage-earner's resources to the extreme. But the tendency is for a further decline in house-building costs.

The Influence of the Building Guilds.

There is not the slightest doubt that the advent of the Building Guilds has had a remarkably steadying effect ; and wherever the Guilds have tendered in competition with individual, or groups of private builders, the general average of tenders has been lower. In some cases the Guild tender has been the lowest, and yet the Ministry of Health has declined to accept it. This was the case at Heywood, where the Guild tender was £300 per house lower than the next nearest submitted. This particular instance clearly brought out the antipathy shown by the Ministry of Health towards the Guilds. Originally three tenders were sent in to the Heywood Housing Committee for 88 houses. Of the three that of the Building Guild was £26,000 and £16,000 respectively below the other two ; but Dr. Addison refused to sanction its acceptance. The local Housing Committee protested vigorously, but without success. Later, in August, 1921, fresh tenders were invited ; seven were received, and again the Guild's tender was

recommended for acceptance, but at the time of writing nothing has been sanctioned by the Ministry of Health. At Walthamstow out of six tenders that of the Building Guild was more than £14,000 below the lowest of the other five. According to a statement by Mr. S. G. Hobson at a national conference of Building Guild Committees held in Manchester on Saturday, July 23rd, 1921, the existing Guilds had tendered to nearly 200 local authorities, and in 90 per cent of these cases the tenders of the Guild averaged £50 per house below the tenders of the master builders, yet not one of these tenders was sanctioned by the Ministry of Health, though 25 local authorities had recommended, and provisionally accepted, the Guild tender.

The summary of cost of the first two houses completed by Guild labour is of particular interest. The houses are situated at Bentley-with-Arksey, near Doncaster, and form part of a contract for 77 houses. The two worked out at £760 each, representing a saving on the local private builders' estimates of £200 per house. The summary was certified by the surveyor of the Urban District Council, who reported the work done as exceptionally good in every respect. It is as follows :

Bricklayers' materials	£238	14	7
Tilers' materials	96	1	8
Plasterers' materials	41	17	9
Plumbers' materials	109	0	6
Painters' materials	2	3	8
Carpenters' and Joiners' materials	293	14	1
Ironmongery	58	10	5
Electrician	40	8	0
Water charges	2	0	0
Carriage (Railway)	9	12	0
Carting	17	18	0
Wages	457	10	2
Five per cent establishment charges	68	7	1
Continuous Pay	80	0	0
Insurance	4	0	0
Total Cost of Two Houses	£1,519	17	11

The Building Guilds have not only exerted a beneficial influence in regard to costs of building, but on Guild contracts output is undoubtedly much improved as compared with private builders' contracts.

Mr. Henry Price (Manchester City architect) has testified to that fact ; and Mr. Stephen Easten has stated the Guilds had demonstrated that bricklayers did more work on Guild contracts than when engaged by private employers, laying 700 to 800 bricks a day in one case, and only about half that in the other.

The Guilds are a factor to be reckoned with. There are now nearly 120 Guild committees in existence ; and they have completed work to the value of £300,000, and have in hand, it is reported, other substantial contracts amounting to over £2,000,000 in value.

Is It Economy ?

The reason advanced by the Government for the ban on house-building is the strain on the financial resources of the national

exchequer, and a professed desire for economy. But it was surely an ironic coincidence that Sir Alfred Mond's statement in the House of Commons, and Dr. Addison's resignation of his post as Minister without portfolio on account of the new housing policy, should both occur on the same night as the debate on the Colonial Office vote, during which it was stated that a post-war expenditure of £137,000,000 had been incurred in Mesopotamia and Palestine. Economy, it would appear, is the cry only when houseless British ex-service men are concerned.

Just when costs of building are declining, and labour is becoming available in greater volume, the Government chooses the time for a hold-up of urgently-needed house-building in the country, and incidentally adding to the crowds of unemployed men and women throughout the land. The Prime Minister says it is only a halt ; that in reality houses will be built in just as great numbers under the revised scheme as under the original one ; and that all the building trade labour which can be applied will be fully occupied during the next year or two. But the Ministry of Labour recently gave figures showing there were some thousands of men belonging to the building trades who were unemployed.

Sir Alfred Mond has been appointed Minister of Health, we are assured, in order to put the Government housing scheme on a more business-like footing. Yet this same new Minister in an address he gave on July 6th last to the Rural District Councils Association, admitted that the new policy was "not a solution of the housing problem ; and he doubted if it ever would be solved." In the long run will the country save anything by the scrapping of the pledge to returned heroes—as they were hailed three years ago ? Will it not cost more in the ill-health of the nation than the price of a healthy dwelling for every individual composing the nation ? Dr. Addison in his speech of resignation, said : "This precipitate abandonment of an effort which is so essential to national restoration is not true economy." That is true. Owing to the horrible slums and overcrowding in city and country, we pay one way and another enormous sums of money in trying to keep well enough to follow our ordinary vocations, and still fail. It is estimated, for instance, that a sum of not less than £37,000,000 per annum is expended from public sources in the direct treatment of disease. Our tuberculosis bill alone costs us £14,000,000 a year. We are always patching up ; we never remove the chief source of the trouble. Apart from the direct monetary payments the country makes for the treatment of preventible disease, the toleration of evil housing conditions and slum areas costs many valuable lives, and wastes untold potentialities of wealth production.

I have come to the conclusion that the problem will never be solved by individual private enterprise. It has become too vast an undertaking. We all ought to insist on this, or some other, Government picking up again the dropped housing scheme, improve it, and carry it out to completion. It would be a splendid achievement.

THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL TRUST.

ALMOST every day one sees an announcement in the press that some place of historic interest or great natural beauty is in danger of destruction or sale; frequently a public outcry is raised—we are assured by well-meaning enthusiasts that the particular beauty-spot or ancient house should instantly be acquired for the nation, no matter what the cost may be. Sometimes the result of the agitation is that measures are taken to preserve the place, but too often the interest in the subject dies away after a little while and no more is heard of the matter beyond a brief paragraph that the property has been sold and has passed into private hands. Few people realise the difficulty of dealing with questions of this kind; it is by no means easy to meet with any individual or body which is willing or able to come forward, generally at very short notice, with a considerable sum of money and purchase something which is to benefit not themselves but the public at large.

The National Trust and Its Founders.

Some 25 years ago it was realised by three individuals that some sort of organisation was needed which should be able to take action in circumstances such as those outlined above, and that a body should be created which should be enabled, when once the desired property had been acquired—either by purchase or gift—to hold the same for the public benefit. It was due to Miss Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter, and Canon Rawnsley that the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty was founded in 1895, and in 1907 was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Its operations were naturally begun on a small scale, but gradually it became more widely known, and as people became acquainted with the nature of its work, the measure of support it received from the public increased, until it may now be said to be firmly established. At the present time it owns nearly 100 properties in various parts of the country—these comprise separate pieces of land of peculiar natural beauty, commanding beautiful views or possessing some great interest to naturalists; buildings of historic or architectural interest, and three or four commemorative monuments; some of these properties have been accepted as gifts, the majority have been acquired by purchase—the money being raised by public subscription. It may, perhaps, be of interest to give a brief account of what the National Trust has already been able to accomplish and what it now has under consideration at the present time.

The Possessions in the Lake District.

It is in the Lake District, probably, that the work of the Trust is best known, for here, thanks to the energy and devotion of the late Canon Rawnsley, who was to the time of his death the Honorary Secretary of the Trust, most important areas have been preserved

for the public. The Brandelhow Estate, on the western shore of Derwentwater, comprising 108 acres, was purchased in 1902 for £7,000; since then the property of the Trust has been extended at various times and now embraces the Manisty Woods and the open land beyond the head of the lake up to the river Derwent. On the opposite side of the lake, Grange Fell and the Borrowdale Birches—some 310 acres—were acquired in 1910, while more recently Castle Crag at the head of Derwentwater was presented to the Trust.

In like manner, the National Trust has bought Gowbarrow Fell and Aira Glen on Ullswater, over 750 acres in all, including the beautiful falls known as Aira Force. For this purpose £13,000 was raised by public subscription. Stybarrow Crag is another well-known beauty-spot in this neighbourhood owned by the Trust. On Windermere the Trust owns Queen Adelaide's Hill and Borran's Field, the latter being the site of an old Roman fort on the shores of the lake. The actual summit of Scafell Pikes, the highest point in England, was presented to the Trust in memory of the men of the Lake District who fell in the Great War.

The Properties on the Kentish Hills.

As it is the Trust's possessions in the Lake District that are associated more particularly with the memory of Canon Rawnsley, so it is the Trust properties on the Kentish Hills that are linked with the name of Miss Octavia Hill, for she was peculiarly interested in the acquisition of these, realising, as she did, the supreme value to the Londoner of districts where he might escape from all his ordinary surroundings and find complete quiet in his holiday. The hill-tops in this neighbourhood owned by the Trust are of inestimable value to the town-worker; they command lovely views over the weald of Kent and are within comparatively easy reach of the heart of the city. Ide Hill, Toy's Hill, Mariner's Hill, One Tree Hill, Brasted Chart, and South Hawke, all bear testimony to the wisdom and foresight of those who appreciated how necessary it was to keep undisturbed areas of peculiar natural beauty.

The Acquisitions on the Surrey Hills.

The influence of the third of the founders—Sir Robert Hunter—is seen in the neighbourhood of Hindhead and the Surrey hills; over 1,300 acres of common land in this area are under the guardianship of the Trust—Ludshott Common, Marley Common, Bramshott Common, Grayswood Common—while further to the east is the far-famed Box Hill, with Colley Hill (on which is a portion of the ancient "Pilgrim's Way") and Hydon Heath and Witley Common.

In the West of England.

In the West of England the Trust has made remarkable progress; in Cornwall it possesses the headland known as the Dodman, St. Catherine's Point at the entrance to Fowey Harbour, Barras Nose, and the old Post Office at Tintagel. In Devonshire, it owns Morte

Point; Mount Pleasant, near Clovelly; Rockbeare Hill, near Ottery St. Mary; and a large part of Exmoor, known as the Holnicote Estate, is leased to it for a period of 500 years. Somerset furnishes the Coleridge Cottage at Nether Stowey, the old Priest's House at Muchelney, Barrington Court, Turn Hill, near High Ham, the Dovecote at Bruton, the Cheddar Gorge, Tor Hill, near Wells, and Ivythorn Hill, near Street; while in Gloucestershire may be seen the Leigh Woods near Bristol, Shirehampton Park, the gateway at Westbury College, and Minchinhampton Common.

In the Fenlands.

There are various properties belonging to the National Trust which owe their value not so much to their natural beauty or historic associations as to their interest from the natural history point of view. Chief among these are Wicken Fen in Cambridgeshire and Blakeney Point in Norfolk. The former is one of the few remaining portions left of the primeval fen-land, and while, of course, it has played a considerable part in the history of our country, it is now famed among scientists as the home of rare insects and plants not found elsewhere in England. Blakeney is celebrated as the resting-place for thousands of migratory birds, and here, too, are many plants dear to the botanist. In both of these properties the Trust is careful to take all the necessary steps for the preservation of the flora and fauna in their natural state, and watchers are kept to see that the birds, insects, and plants are properly cared for.

Buildings of Particular Interest.

The buildings acquired by the Trust are all of particular interest and well worthy of permanent preservation. Mention has already been made of Barrington Court—a fine old Elizabethan mansion—the Priest's House at Muchelney, dating from the 14th century; the Tintagel Post Office about the same period; besides these there are the Clergy House at Alfriston in Sussex (14th century), the Old Court House at Long Crendon in Oxfordshire (14th century), the Joiners' Hall at Salisbury (16th century), Chantry Chapel at Buckingham (15th century), Kanturk Castle, near Cork, Ireland; the Eashing Bridges over the Wey, near Godalming; Duffield Castle in Derbyshire; Winster Market House, in the same county; the Dovecote at Willington, near Bedford; Quebec House, Westerham, the scene of the early childhood of Wolfe; and Eastbury Manor House, near Barking, a magnificent old Tudor mansion.

As Memorials.

It has been mentioned that several of the properties belonging to the Trust have been accepted as gifts; it may be added that many of the gifts have been made as memorials—the Trust has always welcomed the idea that no more fitting memorial to those who have passed away could be made than the dedication of some beautiful open space to the use and enjoyment of others in perpetuity. It

has perpetuated the memory of its three founders in this way : Hydon Heath, near Godalming, was acquired as a Memorial to Miss Octavia Hill ; Waggoner's Wells, near Hindhead, is dedicated to the memory of Sir Robert Hunter ; while more recently an appeal was issued for funds to purchase Friar's Crag, Lord's Island, and a portion of Scarf Close Bay on Derwentwater as a memorial to Canon Rawnsley ; the appeal was immediately successful and the scheme will be carried through. It is gratifying to know that this idea of making a memorial take the form of a place of natural beauty has been well taken up, and among the properties so presented to the Trust and held by them for the benefit of the public for ever may be mentioned Thurstaston Heath and Irby Hill in Cheshire ; Kinver Edge, a beautiful spot overlooking the Black Country ; South Hawke, near Woldingham ; Castle Crag in Borrowdale ; One Tree Hill in Kent ; Peace Howe, Bullfer Grove, Turn Hill, Morte Point, Wandle Park, and portions of Mariner's Hill and Toy's Hill.

A Relic of Neolithic Times.

At present the Trust is endeavouring to acquire a spot which is of exceptional value not only from its natural beauty, but also from its antiquarian interest ; this is Cissbury Ring, on the Downs above Worthing. It is one of the largest of our prehistoric earthworks and has been termed the " Sheffield " of the Flint industry in Neolithic times ; the views to be obtained from the site are of wonderful beauty, and it is most important that it should be secured for all time for the public.

The Annual Income of the Trust.

It will be admitted that the work already accomplished by the Trust during its twenty-six years of existence is by no means inconsiderable, and when it is realised that it has been done on a working income from annual subscriptions of less than £600 per annum (apart from donations given for special purposes), the wonder is that it has been able to do so much. For it must be remembered that, apart from all the necessary work attendant upon raising and collecting large sums of money for purchases, the activities of the Trust with respect to a property do not end with its acquisition ; all the properties belonging to the Trust (numbering, as has been mentioned, nearly 100) have to be administered and cared for. It is obvious that if the annual income of the Trust could be substantially increased, its work might be greatly extended and many places might be saved which would otherwise pass to an unmerited destruction.

Meanwhile, everyone can influence some section of public opinion, great or small, in the direction of obtaining general recognition for the principle that avoidable and wanton destruction of what is interesting, either for its beauty or its associations, inflicts an irreparable injury on the nation and that its frequency calls for the most serious attention on the part of all who care either for English history or for English scenery.

COPPER. A Picture of Labour in the Japanese Copper Industry
By RYO TANAKA.

This picture was exhibited in the Tokio Fine Art Exhibition of 1913.
Japan is the second largest copper producer in the world, the United States coming first, and Great Britain is the largest buyer of Japanese copper.

SCARF CLOSE BAY AND FALCON CRAG, DERWENTWATER.

The lakeside at this point is held for the public use by the National Trust for Places of Beauty and Historic Interest.

TRADE UNION CHANGES DURING 1921.

By Fred Bramley,
Assistant Secretary, Trades Union Congress General Council.

FOR the first time during a period of fifty years, it is not possible to place on record an increase in trade union membership, as shown by the numbers represented by the Trades Union Congress. The year 1921 has, in fact, been the severest testing period ever experienced by trade union organisations in Great Britain. Abnormal unemployment has demoralised the members, reduced the funds, and caused a re-distribution of population due to removal from one place to another in search of employment. The consequences of a prolonged coal dispute have also been serious to most of the trade unions, not only financially, but the disturbing effects of the economic paralysis in almost every industry and occupation influenced fluctuations in trade union membership.

Notwithstanding, however, the adverse circumstances of the past year, the ranks of organised Labour have remained unbroken, and (as shown by the following table) the record of the trade union progress since 1913 has been creditable to those responsible for the organisation of the workers industrially. The figures show the progress made during the war, after the war up to 1920, and the present position as determined by the adverse influences referred to. These figures constitute the most reliable index of the actual membership of trade union organisations for the reason that they represent the numbers on which the affiliation fees to the Trades Union Congress are paid.

Trades Union Congress Returns.

Year.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Societies Affiliated.	No. of Members Represented.
1913	560	207	2,232,446
1915	610	215	2,682,357
1920	955	215	6,505,482
1921	823	212	6,416,510

It will be noted that, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered during 1921, the drop in membership of trade unions, as reflected by Congress affiliation, has not been as serious as one could expect. As a matter of fact, the loyalty of trade union members under the most distressing circumstances has been remarkable. Trade union convictions are growing stronger, loyalty to principles firmer, and the crisis which a few years ago would have shattered trade union ranks has been faced with more determination, and solidarity, than the most optimistic trade union official considered possible.

Another striking fact shown by the above table is that though the membership in 1921 exceeds by 1,000,000 more than double the membership of 1915, the number of unions affiliated is the same. These figures show far more effectively than a lengthy record the remarkable tendency towards amalgamation amongst British trade unions.

The relative strength of the industrial and occupational groups included in Congress membership is shown by the following table. Each of these groups include a number of unions representing workers similarly employed, and by group consultation under this arrangement it is anticipated that a good many disputes affecting lines of demarcation, as between skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled trade unions, will be successfully dealt with.

Group.	Industry or Occupation.	Total No. of Members.
1	Mining and Quarrying	937,412
2	Railways	616,196
3	Transport	470,595
4	Shipbuilding	169,968
5	Engineering, Founding, and Vehicle Building	695,013
6	Iron and Steel and Minor Metal Trades	198,927
7	Building, Woodworking, and Furnishing	455,717
8	Printing and Paper	201,338
9	Cotton	378,501
10	Textiles (General)	226,930
11	Clothing	154,068
12	Leather and Boot and Shoe	101,255
13	Glass, Pottery, Chemicals, Food, Drink, Tobacco, Brushmaking, and Distribution	277,856
14	Agriculture	130,000
15	Public Employees	186,470
16	Non-manual Workers	98,584
17	General Workers	1,117,680

Particular attention is directed to Group 16, shown in the above statement, which includes unions representing non-manual workers. This represents an interesting development in trade union organisation. Professional workers of various kinds are now realising the necessity of combination for the protection of their interests. They have also, as shown by their inclusion in Congress returns, recognised their identity of interest with the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled manual workers included in other groups. Among the unions representing non-manual workers are the following :—

The Actors' Association.
The Musicians' Union.
Theatrical Employees' Association.
Variety Artistes' Federation.
Insurance Workers.
Women Clerks and Secretaries.
National Union of Clerks.

This tendency towards unity among workers by hand and brain is by far the most encouraging feature of modern trade union development.

In addition to the groups named above, provision has been made to form a special group to represent women. All unions including women in their membership will be included in this group, and special efforts will be made during the coming years to protect the economic interests of women workers, by a united endeavour on the part of all those who represent them, whether they happen to be employed in factories, workshops, offices, on the stage, in the orchestra, or in other so-called professional capacities.

Another interesting point worthy of special attention is shown by a consideration of the total membership of Congress in relation to the strength of the most important groups. The number of unions affiliated to the Trade Union Congress is 212, representing a membership of approximately 6,500,000. Six out of the seventeen groups represent nearly two-thirds of the total membership, as follows :—

General Workers	1,117,680
Mining and Quarrying	937,412
Engineering and Foundry Trades	695,013
Railways	616,196
Other Transport	470,595
Building and Woodworking	455,717
Total	4,292,613

The six above-mentioned groups include *seventy-seven* unions out of the 212 affiliated. Industrial solidarity in Great Britain is being secured by a steady but persistent effort to break down sectional barriers and a determined effort to secure the greatest possible reduction in the number of unions.

The New General Council.

The Trades Union Congress, held at Cardiff from September 5th to 10th, marks an important change in the direction of trade union organisation in this country. The Parliamentary Committee which has functioned as the executive body of Congress for fifty-two years disappears and the new General Council takes its place. The now defunct Committee has, for the above-named period, been recognised as the Cabinet of Labour, and has functioned as the only representative national body responsible for trade union policy and action. Its original purpose, as defined in the Standing Orders drafted in 1869, was mainly political, as determined by the following duties imposed upon it by the Trades Union Congress of the period :—

1. To watch legislation in the interests of Labour generally.
2. To promote legislation by drafting Bills, and to secure Members of Parliament of good public spirit to introduce them.
3. To interview Cabinet Ministers regarding the decisions of Congress and questions affecting the industrial welfare of the workers.
4. To assume authority for voicing the opinions of organised trades, and for the body politic of trade unionists.

It continued to be the only body formed for the purpose of protecting not only the industrial but the political interests of the workers until the formation of the Labour Party at a Conference of Trade Unions, Socialists, and other organisations, held in London on the 27th February, 1900, convened by the Parliamentary Committee, acting on the instructions of Congress.

Notwithstanding the formation of the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Committee continued to deputise Cabinet Ministers, interview the Prime Minister, and to exercise as much influence as possible on administrative departments of the State. These operations have, to a certain extent, represented over-lapping of function as between the Labour Party and the Committee. The change represented by the formation of the General Council is in the direction of clearly defining the new body as the responsible authority representing the industrial side of the Labour movement.

Joint Action: Political and Industrial.

The clear definition of function is not, however, intended in any way to separate the industrial from the political activities of the movement generally. Experienced trade union officials, and especially those responsible for national policy, realise the impossibility of striking a clear line of division between the industrial and political issues, and steps have been taken in connection with the formation of the new General Council to meet the need for the closest possible consultation between industrial and political leadership. A proposal has already been submitted to, and accepted by, the Labour Party Conference at Brighton and the Trades Union Congress at Cardiff, making provision for setting up a national Joint Council to represent the three national bodies, namely, the Trades Union Congress General Council, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party. The Council will consist of the Chairman, Secretary, and three other members of each of the three bodies. Its functions are defined as follows:—

The National Joint Council shall

(*a*) Consider all questions affecting the Labour movement as a whole, and make provision for taking immediate and united action on all questions of national emergency.

(*b*) Endeavour to secure a common policy and joint action, whether by legislation or otherwise, on all questions affecting the workers as producers, consumers and citizens.

(*c*) Consult, when necessary, a Joint Conference, consisting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Executive, together with a number of Parliamentary Members, which, with the Labour Party Executive, will be equal in number to the numbers of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

(*d*) Present an annual report to the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference and the Parliamentary Party.

The Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress shall be the Chairman of the National Joint Council, and the Secretary of the Labour Party shall be the Secretary of the National Joint Council.

In addition to these arrangements, steps have already been taken to secure agreement to a scheme making provision for the development of departments under the joint control of the Trades Union Congress General Council and the Labour Party. Detailed plans are now being worked out for the joint development of departments for research, international action, legal advice, and publicity. The general purpose inspiring this joint action is to avoid over-lapping in departmental activity. The object in view is to secure a properly equipped central head-quarters, intended to supply the Labour movement with the necessary information, official assistance and staff requirements to secure national efficiency.

On the industrial side, the General Council has already undertaken two important lines of development. A special department has been set up to deal with Trade Boards, and close attention is now being given to Trade Board regulations from a trade union standpoint. An Advisory Council has been appointed representing all the unions, with membership covered by Trade Board regulations, and it is intended adequately to protect the interests of the three million workers whose wages and hours are determined by the legal obligations imposed on employers by Trade Board regulations.

Another important change in the administrative departments of the General Council is the taking over of the Women's Trade Union League, with its staff and equipment, to work with and under the control of the Council as representing women workers. The League was founded in 1874, and under the above direction of such women leaders as Miss Gertrude Tuckwell and the late Miss Mary Macarthur, has accomplished useful work for the women engaged in industrial and other occupations. Responsibility for the effective extension and continuation of this work is now handed over to the recognised central trade union body, and no doubt as economic changes increase the importance of women's employment, this department will become one of the most important attached to the trade union centre.

In every respect the tendencies inside the trade union movement are towards unity, efficiency and a broadening out of Labour ideals beyond either craft, industrial or occupational interests. Labour's increased fitness to govern will be secured by the careful cultivation and encouragement of these tendencies.

From all points of view the trade union side of the Labour movement, notwithstanding tremendous disadvantages, can be said to be in a healthy state.

International Developments.

The development of trade unionism internationally during the war, and since, is no less remarkable than the progress shown by the figures relating to our own movement. The total number of trade

unionists, so far as can be ascertained after a very thorough investigation of the trade union membership, is shown in the following table. The figures represent thirty countries, and a remarkable total increase during the war period is indicated :—

1913.		1919.		1920.
16,152,000	....	42,040,000	....	48,029,000

The countries mainly concerned in this development are the following :—

Country.	1913.	1919.	1920.
France	1,027,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
Germany	4,513,000	11,900,000	13,000,000
Italy	972,000	1,800,000	3,100,000
United Kingdom	4,173,000	8,024,000	8,024,000
United States	2,722,000	5,607,000	5,179,000
Total	13,407,000	29,831,000	31,803,000

As the above tables indicate, a substantial percentage of trade unionists belong to European countries. In 1919, out of the total of 42,040,000 members, 34,061,000, or 80 per cent, belonged to European countries. Of the remaining 7,979,000 non-European members, 5,985,000 belonged to the North American Continent.

These figures represent the tremendous influence which could be exercised by trade union organisations on international affairs. They represent, in the main, adult membership and could quite properly be multiplied by three. This would show a total population coming under the direct influence of social and economic ideals which, if backed by conscious, scientific, organised effort, could be utilised to remould international life, break down artificial barriers, and develop an international spirit which could be used to defeat the operations of the diplomatic, political and financial groups which place us in a continual danger of war.

International Trade Unionism.

The progress of trade unionism internationally is also satisfactory. The total number of trade unionists now affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions being 23,662,000. These represent twenty-four countries, and in most cases a considerable increase in the strength of trade unionism during the war period. The International Federation is exercising considerable influence in international affairs, and by its intimate and close contact with the International Labour Office, is, without ostentation or excitement, securing substantial improvements in factory legislation in all parts of the world by its representative power and influence.

As in the case of trade unionism generally, the International

Federation derives the main portion of its strength from European countries, as shown by the following table :—

Country.	No. of Members.	Country.	No. of Members.
France	1,500,000	Great Britain	6,500,000
Germany	8,500,000	Italy.....	2,300,000

By the co-ordination of trade union effort nationally, and the development of a closer contact internationally, the barriers of racial division are being broken down and the democratic influence of working-class organisations is doing far more to create the possibilities of international peace than any other influence. If the tremendous power represented by the International Co-operative Movement be added to the strength represented by trade unionism internationally, we shall at once realise the great potentialities of a coherent, well-instructed and persistent working-class policy in relation to international affairs.

As the after effects of the war disappear, the world-wide economic ruin repaired, and as normal opportunities present themselves, we can look forward with confidence to a future when working-class influence, national and international, will be utilised for the creation of a better social order and a world in which justice and humanity will prevail to a much greater extent than to-day.

WORLD-WIDE TRADE-UNIONISM.

The following table, as given by the International Labour Office, Geneva, shows the total trade union membership in thirty countries for the years 1913, 1919, and 1920 :—

	1913.	1919.	1920.
Argentine	(*)	476,000	750,000
Australia	498,000	628,000	684,000
Austria	260,000	803,000	830,000†
Belgium	200,000	715,000†	920,000
Bulgaria.....	30,000†	36,000	36,000‡
Canada	176,000	378,000	374,000
Czecho-Slovakia ...	(*)	1,301,000	2,000,000†
Denmark	152,000	360,000	400,000
Finland	28,000	41,000	59,000
France	1,027,000	2,500,000	2,500,000‡
Germany	4,513,000	11,900,000	13,000,000†
Greece	(*)	170,000	170,000‡
Hungary	115,000†	212,000	343,000†
India	—	500,000†	500,000
Italy	972,000	1,800,000	3,100,000
Japan	—	247,000	247,000‡
Netherlands	189,000	457,000	683,000†
New Zealand.....	72,000	83,000	83,000‡
Norway	64,000	144,000	142,000
Poland	(*)	350,000†	947,000†
Portugal	(*)	100,000	100,000‡
Roumania (former area)	10,000	75,000†	90,000
Russia	—	3,639,000	5,220,000
Serbia (old)	9,000	20,000	20,000‡
South Africa.....	5,000	60,000	60,000‡
Spain	(*)	876,000	876,000
Sweden	136,000	338,000	400,000†
Switzerland	95,000†	200,000	292,000
United Kingdom...	4,173,000	8,024,000	8,024,000‡
United States	2,722,000	5,607,000	5,179,000
Estimated total for the above 30 countries..	16,152,000	42,040,000	48,029,000

* Figures not available. ‡ Figures for 1919.
† Estimates based on partial information.

The following figures show the total membership of the national trade union centres in affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions on the first day of July, 1921 :—

Germany	8,000,000
England	6,600,000
Italy	2,055,773
France	1,500,000
Austria	1,000,000
The Argentine ...	749,518
Czecho-Slovakia	740,000
Belgium	718,410
Poland	403,138
Denmark	279,255
Sweden	277,242
Canada	260,000
Spain	240,113
Switzerland	223,588
Holland	216,581
Greece	170,000
Hungary	152,441
Norway	150,000
South Africa	60,000
Latvia	30,000
Luxemburg	27,000
Yugo-Slavia	25,000
Peru	25,000
Bulgaria	4,000
	23,907,059

THE INDUSTRIAL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

THE subjoined statistics of Trade Union membership in the United Kingdom, down to the latest year for which figures are available, reveal the progress made during the present century in which the accelerated pace and mounting numbers of recent years are particularly noticeable. As the membership doubled itself between 1905 and 1913, so, between 1913 and 1919 the membership doubled itself once again. The membership attained in 1919 was the largest on record, with one exception. That exception is Germany, which has attained to the premier position by the growth of Trade Union membership from 3,572,000 to 9,000,000 during the years 1913-1919, as compared with the growth from 4,192,000 to 8,024,000 in the United Kingdom during the same period.

Trade Unions.

Number and Membership.

[*Compiled from Returns supplied by the Trade Unions to the Department of Labour Statistics and to the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies.*]

All Trade Unions,* 1899–1919.

Year.	Number at end of Year.	Membership at end of Year.	Year.	Number at end of Year.	Membership at end of Year.
1899.....	1,310	1,860,913	1910	1,195	2,446,342
1900.....	1,302	1,971,923	1911	1,204	3,018,903
1901.....	1,297	1,979,412	1912	1,149	3,287,884
1902.....	1,267	1,966,150	1913	1,135	4,192,000
1903.....	1,255	1,942,030	1914	—	4,199,000
1904.....	1,229	1,911,099	1915	1,106	4,388,000
1905.....	1,228	1,934,211	1916	1,115	4,669,000
1906.....	1,250	2,128,635	1917	1,133	5,540,000
1907.....	1,243	2,425,153	1918	1,220	6,645,000
1908.....	1,218	2,388,727	1919	1,315	8,024,000
1909.....	1,199	2,369,067			

* Exclusive of a few trades unions, generally unimportant, for which particulars are not available, and of a certain number of federations, employers' associations, and trade protection societies which are registered as trade unions.

As regards the separate trades, the growth in membership is shown for the period 1915-1919 in the subjoined table. In 1919 abnormal increases in various trades took place. Thus in the groups of tramway and other road transport workers, agricultural labourers, builders' labourers, painters and leather workers the increase exceeded 50 per cent, while in the banking and insurance group the increase exceeded 100 per cent. The largest numerical increases in membership amounted to 286,000 in the "General Labour Group," and to between 100,000 and 70,000 in the following six groups, viz., railway, ironfounding, engineering and shipbuilding, tramway and other road transport, coalmining,

agriculture and fishing, and shop assistants, clerks, &c. Of the total increase of 1,380,000 more than one-half was accounted for by twenty unions, the largest increases being shown by the following unions, viz.: The Workers' Union (116,000), the National Union of General Workers (74,000), the National Union of Agricultural Workers (67,000), and the National Union of Railwaymen (64,000).

Trade Group.	Total membership (Male and Female).				
	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands
Building	234	231	259	324	437
Mining and Quarrying	844	884	944	992	1,069
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding	641	699	849	952	1,074
Textile :—					
Cotton	355	355	382	403	442
Other Textile	94	102	161	213	264
Textile, Bleaching, Dyeing, Finishing, &c.	64	75	87	91	104
Clothing :—					
Boot and Shoe	65	72	81	91	107
Tailoring and other Clothing	49	51	78	120	156
Transport (land and water) :—					
Railway	385	425	499	530	624
Other	304	313	326	376	508
Agriculture and Fishing	26	29	59	130	203
Paper, Printing, &c.	98	99	113	143	192
Woodworking and Furnishing	66	69	83	96	125
Pottery, Chemical, &c.	24	32	42	55	65
Food, Drink, and Tobacco	36	35	36	46	63
Teachers	129	134	143	167	183
Shop Assistants, Clerks, &c.	111	120	150	193	267
Miscellaneous*	96	104	123	165	260
General Labour	523	589	815	1,205	1,491
Employees of Public Authorities†	244	251	310	353	390
Totals‡	4,388	4,669	5,540	6,645	8,024

* Comprising the Leather, Entertainment Workers, Banking and Insurance, Enginemen, and Miscellaneous Groups.

† Exclusive of Teachers, Tramway Workers, and General Labour Unions, for which see "Teachers," "Transport," and "General Labour."

‡ The total membership shown for all trade unions, includes members in colonial and foreign branches to the number (in 1919) of 56,000, of whom 23,000 belonged to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, Cabinet Makers, and Joiners, and 30,000 to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Next come the figures indicating the growth in male membership and female membership respectively. Thus the total number of males rose from over 3,730,000 at the end of 1913 to nearly 6,700,000 at the end of 1919, and that of females from about 440,000 to about 1,330,000 in the same period. The increase in female membership has thus amounted to about 103 per cent as compared with an increase of 79 per cent for the males. As regard combined figures it may be noted that the total membership of trades unions rose by relatively small percentages in 1914-15, but in each of the three following years there

was a very marked increase, and at the end of 1919 the total was nearly twice as great as before the war.

Year.	Membership at end of year.			Percentage increase on total membership of previous year.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	
	Thousands.	Thousands.	Thousands.	Per cent.
1913	3,735	438	4,173	†
1914	3,735	441	4,176	† 0·0
1915	3,896	492	4,388	† 5·1
1916	4,043	626	4,669	† 6·4
1917	4,660	880	5,540	†18·6
1918	5,423	1,222	6,645	†19·9
1919	6,695	1,329	*8,024	†20·8

* The figures for 1918 have been revised in accordance with the latest information received by the Department. Those for 1919 are provisional, and may be subject to slight revision when further information is available.

† The increase in membership between the end of 1912 and the end of 1913 was a little over 20 per cent.

Female Membership of Trades Unions.

The growth of Trade Union Membership amongst the various categories is shown from 1915 to 1919 in the following table :—

Group.	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands	Thousands
Building	—	—	—	—	—
Mining and Quarrying	3	3	6	10	7
Metal, Engineering, & Shipbuilding	3	6	9	11	13
Textile*	272	289	363	430	494
Clothing†	28	40	71	117	145
Transport‡	3	30	60	59	14
Agriculture and Fishing	—	—	2	2	3
Paper, Printing, &c.	10	10	19	40	61
Woodworking and Furnishing	1	1	3	6	7
Pottery, Chemicals, &c.	3	8	14	22	28
Food, Drink, and Tobacco	3	4	5	7	7
Teachers	76	82	90	112	126
Shop Assistants, Clerks, &c.	22	33	46	74	94
Miscellaneous	4	5	8	18	39
General Labour	39	84	127	235	212
Employees of Public Authorities	25	31	57	79	79
	492	626	880	1,222	1,329

* The major part of the female membership in this category is engaged in the cotton industry and increased between 1915–1919 from 219,000 to 282,000. The female trade union members engaged in other branches of the textile industry increased in the same period from 42,000 to 185,000, and the female trade unionists engaged in textile bleaching, dyeing, finishing, &c., increased in number from 11,000 to 27,000.

† In the boot and shoe industry the female trade unionists increased from 12,000 to 33,000, and in the tailoring and other clothing branches from 16,000 to 112,000.

‡ In the railway transport service the membership increased from 3,000 in 1915 to 50,000 in 1918, but receded to 13,000 in 1919. In other branches of the transport service the members increased from 12,000 in 1916, to 21,000 in 1917, and then receded to 1,000 in 1919.

The Trade Union Congress (1921).

The Fifty-third annual Trade Union Congress of the United Kingdom was held at Cardiff on September 5th, 1921, and the five following days. The Congress was presided over by the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. E. L. Poulton. The delegates (823 in number) represented a trade union membership of 6,389,123, as compared with 955 delegates in 1920, representing a membership of 6,494,704. The official analysis into groups of trades shows the composition of the Cardiff Congress as compared with that of the Portsmouth Congress in the preceding year. Herewith are the figures :—

Groups of Trades.	1920*			1921*		
	Number of Organisations.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Members.	Number of Organisations.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Members.
Building	14	40	375,341	11	44	403,743
Mining and Quarrying	8	218	941,415	6	161	936,872
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding	43	143	983,601	38	141	978,908
Textile	25†	146	588,821	22†	104	603,794
Clothing	8	32	259,493	9	31	230,493
Railway Service	3	24	625,000	3	23	616,196
Other Transport	17	59	336,563	16	54	334,262
Agriculture and Fishing	2	12	131,000	2	12	131,000
Paper, Printing, &c.	13	36	179,482	12	36	196,450
Woodworking and Furnishing	9	15	95,781	7	13	101,974
Shop Assistants, Clerks, &c.	3	18	101,000	4	26	217,500
Miscellaneous	33	67	279,118	28	47	237,650
General Labour	8	122	1,412,134	5	111	1,211,893
Employees of Public Authorities	9	23	185,958	7	20	188,388
Total	195	955	6,494,707	170	823	6,389,123

* The figures for 1920 have been revised since their publication in the *Labour Gazette* for September, 1920. Those for 1921 are provisional and subject to slight correction.

† In some of the textile, &c., trades, not only are amalgamated associations represented as such, but the branch associations of which they consist send separate delegates. These branch associations have not been reckoned as separate organisations.

The number of organisations represented showed a considerable decline, due to amalgamations. The total membership represented showed a decrease of rather more than 100,000 (or 1·6 per cent), chiefly owing to a decline in the membership of General Labour Unions. The increase in the group of shop assistants, clerks, &c., is due to the inclusion of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, which was formed at the beginning of 1921 by the joining of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative and Commercial Employees and Allied Workers (which was not represented at the previous Congress) with the National Union of Warehouse and General Workers (which was included under General Labour).

THE COURSE OF WAGES.

The course of wages from 1915 to 1920 is indicated by the official figures recording the total amounts of increase in weekly rates of wages in the principal groups of trades. The sum total of weekly increases for the respective years, together with the average increase per week for each worker affected, are approximately as follows :—

Year.	Total increase in the weekly wages of those affected.		Average increase per week per worker affected.
	£		£ s. d.
1915	677,000	....	0 3 9½
1916	637,000	....	0 3 6½
1917	2,307,000	....	0 9 2
1918	2,988,000	....	0 9 11½
1919	2,432,000	....	0 7 10¾
1920	4,693,000	....	0 12 4
	13,734,000		£2 6 8¼

The series of increases recorded above speak volumes with regard to the continuous struggle to keep pace with the soaring cost of living throughout the years in question—years in which profiteering reached to abnormal heights.

In November, 1920 (according to the Government figures), food prices had risen to 191 per cent above the pre-war figure, and to 176 per cent for the collective items of food, fuel, lighting, clothing, rent, &c. ; in other words, it took £2. 18s. 2d. to purchase the same quantity of food which could be bought in pre-war days for a sovereign ; and £2. 15s. 2d. had to be spent in food, fuel, lighting, clothing, rent, &c., where a sovereign was sufficient in July, 1914. This means that the sovereign in November, 1920, had become worth only 6s. 10d. when expended in food, and worth only 7s. 3d. when expended on food, fuel, lighting, clothing, rent, &c., collectively. And when the advances of wages recorded above are viewed in the light of the diminished value of the sovereign, it will be seen that the total weekly advance, amounting to £13,734,000 from 1914 to 1919, was only equal in purchasing power to £4,692,450 spent on food, or to £4,978,575 spent on the collective items of living in pre-war days. In other words, the total average increase of £2. 6s. 8d. per week per worker affected was worth in November, 1920 (when calculated in pre-war purchasing power), only 16s. when spent in food, and only 16s. 11d. in relation to the workers' cost of living as a whole.

Changes in Rates of Wages.

In the following table the number of workpeople affected by the changes reported, as well as the total amount of increase in weekly wages in each of the principal groups, are shown for the years 1919 and 1920. To this table, however, the next one forms a big contrast.

Groups of Trades.	Approximate number of workpeople whose rates of wages were reported as changed in		Total increase in the weekly wages of those affected as compared with the previous year.	
	1919	1920	1919	1920
			£	£
Building	290,000	400,000	205,000	358,000
Mining and Quarrying	1,160,000	1,280,000	620,000	1,328,000
Iron and Steel Smelting and Manufacture	200,000	220,000	150,000	261,000
Engineering, Shipbuilding, and other Metal	1,830,000	1,610,000	573,000	629,000
Textile	540,000	1,050,000	160,000	643,000
Clothing	490,000	720,000	174,000	229,000
Transport (excluding Tramways)	370,000	890,000	96,000	573,000
Paper, Printing, &c.	190,000	200,000	74,000	122,000
Chemical, Glass, Brick, Pottery, &c.	220,000	270,000	64,000	120,000
Other Trades	570,000	610,000	198,000	280,000
Public Utility Services *	300,000	350,000	118,000	150,000
Total	6,160,000	7,600,000	2,432,000	4,693,000

* Including tramway, gas, electricity, and water undertakings (both of local authorities and private companies) and the road, sanitary, and other services of local authorities.

CHANGES TAKING EFFECT IN JANUARY—SEPTEMBER, 1921.

Groups of Trades.	Approximate number of workpeople affected by		Amount of changes in weekly wages.	
	Increases.	Decreases.	Increases.	Decreases.
			£	£
Building and Allied Trades	4,000	444,000	1,360	297,700
Mining and Quarrying	3,300	1,277,000	660	1,282,600
Iron and Steel Smelting and Manufacture	1,000	240,000	70	335,500
Engineering and Shipbuilding	3,700	1,317,000	960	454,200
Other Metal Trades	6,300	324,000	1,370	147,800
Textile	6,700	944,000	53	563,100
Clothing	75,000	174,000	10,420	34,500
Transport (excluding Tramways)	13,000	890,000	3,300	366,200
Printing and Allied Trades	700	157,000	170	38,900
Furniture and Woodworking	3,400	78,000	1,450	38,100
Chemical, Glass, Brick, Pottery, &c.	1,300	225,000	290	80,500
Food, Drink, and Tobacco	8,300	119,000	660	31,000
Other Miscellaneous Trades	12,500	96,000	2,510	43,500
Public Utility Services	10,300	292,000	1,650	94,100
Total	149,500	6,577,000	25,400	3,807,700

Besides the groups in the first table, other groups such as agricultural labourers, police constables, permanent government employees (other than those engaged on manual work of a kind common to Government and other employment whose remuneration is determined by other recognised machinery), a considerable number of clerical workers employed by municipal authorities, the male clerical staff

of railway companies, as well as other important bodies of clerical workers, besides large groups of shop assistants (including those of co-operative societies) all received advances during the year 1920.

In contrast with preceding years, however, 1921 has been a year of drastic wage reductions affecting many millions of workers as compared with minor increases affecting a comparative few, as shown by the particulars in the preceding table.

Thus in the first nine months of 1921, 6,577,000 workers had their wages reduced on an average by 11s. 6d. per week, whilst 149,500 workers had their wages increased by 3s. 4d. per week.

TRADE DISPUTES.

In the matter of trade disputes in 1920, the coalminers' 15-days' strike in October (to enforce an advance in wages not conditional on output) was the outstanding feature. The statistics of trade disputes, both for 1919 and 1920 are given in the following table. The figures are officially stated to be preliminary and subject to correction.

Groups of Trades.	1919.			1920.		
	No. of disputes beginning in 1919.	Number of workpeople involved in all disputes in progress.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.	No. of disputes beginning in 1920.	Number of Workpeople involved in all disputes in progress.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress.
Building	150	25,000	578,000	247	47,000	896,000
Coal Mining	212	906,000	7,441,000	210	1,414,000	17,424,000
Other Mining and Quarrying	32	5,000	138,000	32	5,000	108,000
Engineering and Shipbuilding	188	309,000	10,012,000	230	152,000	2,540,000
Other Metal	126	83,000	1,813,000	114	75,000	843,000
Textile	61	490,000	8,167,000	127	79,000	1,441,000
Clothing	77	29,000	245,000	74	38,000	749,000
Transport	129	574,000	3,883,000	149	72,000	578,000
Woodworking and Furnishing	62	25,000	988,000	100	31,000	978,000
Other Trades	277	119,000	1,381,000	306	78,000	1,205,000
Local Authority Services	99	21,000	257,000	126	28,000	249,000
TOTAL	1,413	2,586,000	34,903,000	1,715	2,019,000	27,011,000

As regards the disputes in 1921 it may be noted that in the nine months period—January to September inclusive—there were 549 disputes involving 1,698,000 workpeople, and of an aggregate duration of 84,192,000 working days. The most prominent industry in this respect was that of mining and quarrying, with 60 recorded disputes of an aggregate duration of 74,394,000 working days, and involving 1,155,000 workpeople. Next comes the textile industry, with 20 disputes involving 379,000 workpeople, and of an aggregate duration of 6,906,000 working days.

Trade Disputes for the Period 1905-1920.

The following comparative statistics are interesting, as showing the intensification of the Labour struggle during recent years.

Year.	DISPUTES. Number of disputes beginning in year.	Number of workpeople involved in disputes beginning in year.	Aggregate duration in working days of all disputes in progress during year.
1905	358	94,000	2,470,000
1906	486	218,000	3,029,000
1907	601	147,000	2,162,000
1908	399	296,000	10,834,000
1909	436	301,000	2,774,000
1910	531	515,000	9,895,000
1911	903	962,000	10,320,000
1912	857	1,463,000	40,915,000
1913	1,497	689,000	11,631,000
1914	999	448,000	10,111,000
1915	707	453,000	3,040,000
1916	578	281,000	2,581,000
1917	803	885,000	5,809,000
1918	1,300	1,142,000	6,332,000
1919	1,413	2,575,000	34,903,000
1920	1,715	1,932,000	27,011,000

CHANGES IN HOURS OF LABOUR.*

The reduction of the hours of labour in 1920 served to continue and complete the short-time movement which was one of the features of 1919. The reductions in 1920 affected about 560,000 workpeople in the principal groups of trades, the recognised full-time working week of these 560,000 workpeople being reduced by an average of 3·7 hours. The following table gives the comparative statistics of reductions for the years 1919 and 1920 :—

Groups of Trades.	Number of workpeople whose hours were reported as changed.		Aggregate reduction in the working hours of a full week for those affected.	
	1919	1920	1919	1920
Building	211,000	282,000	965,000	994,000
Mining and Quarrying	1,101,000	15,000	5,365,000	44,000
Metal Trades	1,959,000	9,000	13,237,000	35,000
Textile	1,006,000	55,000	7,021,000	363,000
Clothing	214,000	130,000	1,052,000	422,000
Other Trades	1,807,000	47,000	12,873,000	158,000
Public Utility Services	163,000	22,000	1,242,000	69,000
Total	6,461,000	560,000	41,755,000	2,085,000

* The figures for 1920 are preliminary and subject to revision. Those for 1919 have been revised in accordance with the latest information available.

During the first eight months of 1921, the following increases in the hours of labour were reported: Merthyr Tydvil labourers in the local authority service, 3 hours per week; men employed on civil engineering constructional works (Great Britain), 1½ hours per week; dock labourers (Hull), 5 hours per week; cinematograph operators (Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Greenock), 2 hours per week; building trades (Okehampton), 4 hours per week; local authority services (Eastleigh and Bishopstoke), 5½ hours per week; firemen on trawlers (Swansea), 4 hours per day; quarrymen (Clitheroe and district), ¾ hour per day. On the other hand the following decreases are reported: Employees connected with garages of engineering firms (London), 1½ hours per week; building trades (Belfast), 2 hours per week; council employees (East Grinstead U.D.C.), 4 hours per week; surveyor's department employees (Erith U.D.C.), 3 hours per week. The official reports also note the adoption of a maximum 39-hours week for Manchester newspaper office clerks, and of an 8-hours day for five days in the week, and 6 on Saturday for certain categories of employees in the merchant shipping service.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The following figures recording the percentage unemployed in trade unions making returns show the huge contrast between the two years 1920 and 1921. In June of the former year the percentage was only 1·2; in June of the latter year it reached 23·1.

PERCENTAGE UNEMPLOYED IN TRADE UNIONS MAKING RETURNS.

1920.		August	1·6	February	8·5
January	2·9	September	2·2	March	10·0
February	1·6	October	5·3*	April	17·6†
March	1·1	November	3·7	May	22·2
April	0·9	December	6·1	June	23·1
May	1·1			July	16·7
June	1·2	1921.		August	16·3
July	1·4	January	6·9	September	14·8

* Excluding coal miners who were on strike throughout the country.
† The coal miners on strike are excluded from these percentages.

Much more arresting than mere percentages, however, are the figures recording the total number of workpeople registered at the Employment Exchanges as unemployed plus the number of workpeople registered as working systematic short time and receiving benefit under the Unemployment Insurance Act.

1920	Number of unemployed.	Number working short time.	1921	Number of unemployed.	Number working short time.
October 15th	382,608	—	April 29th	1,854,059	1,077,000
November 26th	520,353	—	May 27th	2,122,496	1,187,000
December 31st	756,823	446,000	June 24th	2,177,899	838,000
1921.			July 29th	1,780,835	534,000
January 28th	1,065,320	637,000	August 26th	1,572,792	407,800
February 25th	1,218,218	743,000	September 30th*	1,405,000	322,000
March 25th	1,413,751	838,000			

* At this date about 366,500 persons, who had exhausted their unemployment benefit, had ceased to register at the Exchanges.

TYPICAL BRITISH MEMORIALS

TO THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES DURING THE GREAT WAR.

A Cenotaph at Southampton.

Eastbourne — "To her..."

Altrincham

IN HONOUR OF THE FALLEN:
TWO MORE BRITISH MEMORIALS.

The Pillar fronting the Royal Exchange in the City of London.

The Lamp of Memory.
The finely imaginative memorial at Todmorden. Reproduced by kind permission of the Corporation of Todmorden.

The following comparative figures for the period 1900-1920 record the percentages of members unemployed in trade unions making returns and show both the mean of the percentages for each year and the percentage for the end of December in each year :—

Year.	Percentage unemployed.		Year.	Percentage unemployed.	
	Mean for year.	End of December.		Mean for year.	End of December.
1900	2·5	3·5	1911	3·0	3·1
1901	3·3	4·2	1912	3·2	2·3
1902	4·0	5·0	1913	2·1	2·6
1903	4·7	6·3	1914	3·3	2·5
1904	6·0	7·1	1915	1·1	0·6
1905	5·0	4·5	1916	0·4	0·3
1906	3·6	4·4	1917	0·7	1·4
1907	3·7	5·6	1918	0·8	1·2
1908	7·8	9·1	1919	2·4	3·2
1909	7·7	6·6	1920	2·4	6·1
1910	4·7	5·0			

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND DISEASES.

Some idea of the perils to life that are incident to the workers' occupation may be gained from the official statistics relating to industrial accidents and diseases.

Thus the number of workmen (other than seamen) reported as killed in the course of their employment during the year 1920 was 2,957, as compared with 2,901 in 1919 and 3,375 in 1918 ; and in the period of nine months from January to September, 1921, the number of killed amounted to 1,357.

Then there are the casualties arising from industrial poisoning in its various forms. In 1918 the number of cases of poisoning and of anthrax amounted to 265, of which 30 were fatal. In 1919 there were 234 cases, of which 35 were fatal. In 1920 there were 476 cases, and 37 of these were fatal ; and in the nine months from January to September (inclusive), 1921, there were 231 cases, 21 of which were fatal. In addition to the cases of industrial poisoning, the notification of which is obligatory, there are also the cases of lead poisoning amongst house painters and plumbers, the notification of which is not obligatory, although the cases coming to the knowledge of the Home Office reveal a large proportion of deaths. Thus of the 35 cases coming to the knowledge of the Home Office in 1918, 20 were fatal ; of the 36 in 1919, 18 were fatal ; of the 56 cases in 1920, 27 were fatal ; and of the 33 cases in the period from the 1st of January to the end of September, 1921, 15 were fatal. In the face of these figures it seems curious that the notification of cases of lead poisoning amongst house painters and plumbers should still remain non-obligatory.

THE WORLD OF LABOUR.

INTRODUCTION.

THE industrial world, not only in Great Britain but in all manufacturing countries, was dominated during the year by the events arising from the universal slump in trade. These events were mainly concerned with a general campaign to bring about a drastic reduction in wages, apart from Germany, where the standard was already low in relation to the cost of living. Only one powerfully organised body of workers, the miners, resisted the employers' demands by ceasing work rather than accept conditions which were presented to them in the form of an ultimatum, and after a phenomenal struggle lasting three months they were compelled to admit defeat and to return to work on a compromise settlement which gave them only small concessions.

Even before this the effect of serious unemployment on trade union funds had made the officials of even the strongest unions reluctant to adopt a combative attitude, and the defeat of the miners made it clear that under the conditions prevailing no organisation of workers could hope to wage a winning fight. On the other hand, the stubbornness of the miners, and their endurance of privation for weeks after the end of the conflict had been expected, made some groups of employers anxious not to press their workers too far, and this influence probably averted a lock-out struggle in the engineering industry. There can be little doubt that in this sense the resistance of the miners, costly though it was to themselves, did definitely benefit many workers in other industries, by enabling them to secure a greater modification of employers' demands than would have been the case otherwise.

Speaking broadly, 1921 saw a complete reversal of the position of the preceding year, when nearly all British workers were engaged in movements to increase wages to meet the very high cost of living. By the late summer of 1921 the official figures of the Board of Trade showed a drop from the maximum of 176 per cent in the winter of 1920-21 to 120 per cent, but many employers—notably in the mining, textile, and engineering trades—were not content with proportionate wage reductions. By July, the downward tendency of prices had been checked temporarily, owing to the final increases in rent allowed by the Rent Restriction Act, and to the effects of the drought in reducing the supplies of milk and vegetable foods. Consequently, apart altogether from loss of income due to unemployment and short time, those workers who were fortunate to be fully employed found themselves in a relatively worse economic position than they were in during 1920.

There were trade union leaders who declared openly that the attack on the miners' standard of life was the initial move in a deliberate conspiracy between "Big Business" and the Government to wrest from the workers the gains they had obtained during the war. The coal industry was chosen for this first move, it was suggested, because the miners were the most powerfully organised, so that if their resistance was broken no other body of workers would offer serious opposition. Of course, no evidence of such a conspiracy existed, but there was evidence of a loose agreement among employers as to the tactics to be pursued, and events certainly worked out in the manner just described.

The great superiority in organisation, both of the employers and the Government, as compared with the trade unions, was soon manifested. It is a fact that huge stocks of coal had been accumulated everywhere as though in anticipation of a conflict. All the big firms were fortified by enormous reserve funds built up during the war, and many had great stocks of goods which, in the words of the *Times* newspaper, they were "enabled to liquidate" during the stoppage, so that they regarded the temporary closing down of iron and steel works, and factories of all kinds, without undue anxiety.

On the other hand, not only were the trade unions short of funds, but their leaders were seriously divided on questions of policy. This division showed itself disastrously in what came to be known as the "Black Friday" fiasco of the Triple Alliance. The events leading

up to this episode are described below, but it should be recorded here that responsible leaders in the Labour movement expressed the opinion afterwards that unless the leaders of the Alliance had been thoroughly united on policy from the beginning it would have been better for them to have held aloof altogether from the miners' dispute.

The repeated failure of the Alliance to act consistently and effectively (whether aggressively or as a negotiating, peace-seeking body) gave the impression generally that the Labour movement had not yet reached the stage at which it could evolve a well-prepared and carefully thought-out plan to meet a grave industrial crisis. Various explanations of the failure were given, but in the opinion of some the fundamental reason was that the machine created was too powerful to be used and controlled effectively in the present state of trade union organisation.

These various events connected with the miners' dispute had other implications. The settlement accepted by the miners meant the definite abandonment of the pursuit of nationalisation by industrial means. Henceforth it became a political issue to be fought out by the Labour Party. The aim of the Miners' Federation to consolidate its position as the national bargaining body for the coal industry, and to perpetuate the war-time system of negotiating national wages settlements had perforce to be abandoned, and to this extent the progress of the movement towards full industrial unionism was checked.

The return to bargaining by local conciliation boards fostered a movement among the mechanical and craft workers at the mines in some districts to resume their independent organisation and to terminate affiliation with the Federation. From these general comments something will be realised of the immense importance of the dispute, particularly in its reactions on the policy and progress of the Labour movement as a whole.

It revealed to the trade union leaders the extent to which they had underestimated the forces against them, and the need for a complete overhauling of their machinery and organisation. Above all, it showed the weakening influence of disunion, divisions of opinion on elementary questions of policy, and personal differences inside the unions.

One of its reactions must be emphasized. While on the one hand the propaganda of the left wing sections of the movement became intensified, particularly in South Wales and Scotland, the general current of feeling among the workers turned definitely in favour of relying more on the political weapon and less on industrial action. The Labour Party was not slow to profit by this change, and its political educational campaign throughout the country was intensified

The Miners' Conflict.

At the Labour Party Conference at Brighton, Mr. Frank Hodges, the general secretary of the Miners' Federation, described the miners' resistance as an "epic struggle." He did not exaggerate when he used that much-abused word. It is true that the struggle lasted three weeks fewer than the great coal strike of 1893, when a reduction of wages was also resisted, but the conditions were immensely different. The high cost of living, the depleted condition of the union funds at the outset, and the fact that all the coalfield unions were bankrupt within two or three weeks, invested the conflict of 1921 with something of the heroism of a forlorn hope. As a matter of fact, it could not have been continued for anything like 13 weeks but for the unstinting help given to the miners, and especially to their women and children, by the co-operative movement. Loans were arranged by the various societies and the Co-operative Bank, and a voucher system was devised for the issue of food and the postponement of payment until after resumption of work. A fund raised by the *Daily Herald* also realised £85,000. In the colliery towns and villages food kitchens were organised on a large scale, and the produce of allotment gardens enabled many thousands of families to escape the worst privations.

The stoppage, which began on April 1st, and ended on July 4th, arose out of and was essentially a continuance of the dispute and settlement of October of the preceding year. It will be remembered that this settlement provided for an increase of 2s. per shift on condition that output was maintained at a certain standard after a fixed period. If the

output standard was exceeded wages were to rise still higher, and, in fact, just before the trade slump affected the coal industry the miners were actually receiving an increase of 3s. 6d. per shift, because the output had been increased to the highest point since the beginning of the war.

It so happened, however, that neither the miners nor the country obtained the benefit which would normally have followed this great increase in production, because concurrently with the effort of the miners the export trade went to pieces, and the demand for industrial coal fell off. The cause of the collapse of the export trade was threefold :—

1. The refusal of the Government and the owners to reduce the phenomenally high prices until this action was compelled by the actual cessation of orders, and the purchase of American coal by Italy and other countries.
2. The trade depression on the Continent, which caused a slump in demand.
3. The fact that since the month of November, 1920, France had received an additional million tons a month from Germany as part of the reparations payment. This million tons was exactly the quantity which France had imported from Great Britain on the average month by month during 1920.

Meanwhile protracted negotiations had been proceeding between the Miners' Federation and the Mining Association (employers) with the object of setting up the permanent scheme of wages regulation provided for in the 1920 settlement. In the early stages of these negotiations there was a general understanding that wages were to be regulated nationally in the future. This would have meant the final scrapping of the old district conciliation boards which had remained inactive during the period of Government control of the industry.

In the view of the miners' representatives national regulation would involve the continuance of a profits pool, similar to that established by the Government, but managed by the Joint Wages Board composed of representatives of the owners and miners. What they suggested, in effect, was that the machinery of the Mines Department of the Board of Trade, so far as it concerned this matter, should be taken over and run on a voluntary basis by the industry itself.

The miners' officials next accepted in principle the scheme of profit-sharing which Lord Gainford, on behalf of the owners, had suggested to the Coal Commission. This scheme, shorn of its technicalities, was to the effect that standard minimum wage rates should be fixed, and that an agreed percentage of the aggregate amount of these standard wages should constitute a standard profit. The wages were to be the first charge on the industry, then the cost of running the mines apart from labour, and then the profits.

Any profit left after paying the standard wages, meeting the running expenses, and allocating the standard profit, was to be termed surplus profit, and divided between the owners and miners in agreed proportions.

The crisis developed slowly but surely during January and February, when the loss of the export trade at high prices turned the profits of the industry as a whole into a heavy loss, and greatly alarmed the Treasury, which had been looking to the control profits pool for a substantial tribute to the national revenue. Up to this stage the Federation officials had tried in vain to obtain from the owners a definite statement on the pool question. They were met with the reply that it would be better to settle first various details in connection with the profit-sharing part of the scheme and the fixing of the standard wages. Then, they suggested, when these things had been dealt with, the question of the pool could be settled.

The chief factors which indicated the development of the crisis were these :—

Owing to the postponement of a decision on the pool question no real progress was made in the permanent wage negotiations.

Many collieries went on short time, and stocks of coal began to accumulate.

Consequently the output decreased and by March the miners had lost the whole of the 3s. 6d. advance resulting from the autumn settlement.

The Government discovered that in

January a loss of about £2,000,000 a month was being incurred. This had increased to nearly £5,000,000 by the end of February, and it meant that a surplus of £20,000,000 in the pool at the beginning of the year would be wiped out in two or three months, after which the Exchequer would have to bear a heavy loss if control continued.

Consequently the question of decontrol was raised, at first informally. The Miners' Federation protested vigorously against it. The owners wanted decontrol of prices, and of the industry generally; but they wished the financial guarantees, under which they were ensured of a total profit of £26,000,000 a year, to continue until the Control Act expired at the end of August.

The owners had suggested a new standard rate of wages equal to only half the February wages, and the Miners' Federation refused to consider this.

Large stocks of coal were accumulated in all parts of the country, and from this it was assumed that both owners and the Government were determined to force down the miners' wages drastically, in order to prepare the way for heavy reductions in other trades and industries.

Events throughout the dispute proved clearly enough that the owners had the full support of the Government, and that both were stubbornly determined to resist the demands of the miners, to restore the old district method of fixing wages, and to stick at no expenditure to achieve this object.

A definite issue was raised on February 23rd, when the Government announced that they intended to decontrol completely the mining industry on March 31st instead of in August. The reason put forward was that the Exchequer could not possibly meet the loss of £5,000,000 a month.

The Decontrol Bill was rushed through Parliament, and the Government ignored the earnest warnings of the miners' members that only chaos could result. It was at this stage that a national conference of the Federation accepted, on March 10th, the resignation of its president, Mr. Robert Smillie, who had tendered it several weeks earlier, on the ground of ill-health. Mr. Herbert Smith was appointed acting-president, and he remained at the head throughout the dispute.

A further conference on March 18th considered a concrete statement of the owners' proposals. These were, in brief:—

The wage rates of 1914 in each district, with any percentages added to those rates since 1914 (not including war wages or Sankey award) to be the point below which future wages should not fall.

That the owners should have a corresponding standard profit, to be 17 per cent of the aggregate amount of the standard wages.

That any surplus profit left (after meeting all other charges of production and maintenance of the mines) should be divided between the parties in the proportion of 75 per cent to the workmen and 25 per cent to the owners.

That during the abnormal conditions the owners would waive their claim to a share of the surplus profits.

That if in any accounting period the standard profit was not realised the deficit should be carried forward and met before any division of surplus profits took place in any subsequent accounting period.

While the Federation executive had accepted this profit-sharing scheme in principle they had made the establishment of a pool and a national wages scheme a definite part of any possible agreement, in order to equalise wages as far as possible, and prevent the glaring inequalities which were inseparable from the district proposals of the owners. The conference did not reject the proposals offhand, but decided to go to the districts for a mandate.

The districts rejected the proposals, and this decision was undoubtedly influenced to some extent by the posting of notices at the pits, as foreshadowed several weeks before, to the effect that the war wages and other advances given under the control régime would be terminated on March 31st, and that the pits would only be open after that date on the terms decreed.

Renewed discussions with the Government on the eve of the struggle proved futile. Sir Robert Horne, for the Govern-

ment, professed to express no opinion as to the adequacy of the wages offered, and took up the position that so long as the alleged political demand for the pool was persisted in there could be no settlement. Later, it was admitted that the principal officials of the Federation believed at this stage that a fight for the pool could not succeed, and that they advised negotiations for a temporary wages settlement.

Nevertheless, on March 30th, the Federation executive issued the fateful order that the new terms were not to be accepted, and that work must cease after the 31st. The order contained a clause making it clear that it applied to all workers, including pumpmen and other "safety" workers. This meant, of course, that wet mines would be left to flood, unless the labour of officials and volunteers could be utilised. The action of the Federation aroused fierce criticism, and on this important matter also there was a sharp cleavage of opinion in the executive. It was the first time in the history of the Federation that such action had been countenanced, although a precedent in local action of the same kind had been set by the Yorkshire Association a year previously.

The official reply to criticism was that the owners had given notice to all the safety men that their wages would be reduced drastically, and that the responsibility for the complete stoppage therefore rested with them. As things turned out the actual damage to the mines was not very great, as the officials, with volunteer helpers, succeeded in preventing serious destruction. At many mines also the pumpmen decided to remain at work, and, with few exceptions, they were not interfered with by the miners. The fact that within a month of the resumption of work the output of coal was greater than the March production, although about 200,000 fewer workers were employed, speaks for itself. The action of the Federation, however, lost the miners much of the sympathy and support gained by the publication of the owners' wage proposals.

On the first day of the stoppage the Federation executive decided to appeal to the Triple Alliance for help, and meetings of the executives of the National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport Workers' Federation were hurriedly convened. Simultaneously a Cabinet committee was appointed to deal with the situation, and various measures, some of a panic nature, were taken by the Government. A Royal Proclamation was issued declaring the existenee of a state of emergency under the Emergency Powers Act. Restricted train services were announced, and troops were moved to the colliery districts. Sir Robert Horne issued a strongly partisan statement against the miners, and called for volunteers to man the pit pumps. He charged the miners with the intention of intimidating the Government by initiating a strike for political purposes. On the same day Mr. Hodges issued a manifesto showing for the first time the actual reductions proposed by the owners. It appeared that while the cuts were to be comparatively small in one or two districts, notably Yorkshire and Notts, they would be as high as 25s. to 30s. a week in Lancashire, 35s. in South Wales, and £2 in Cumberland. It was shown, in fact, that day wage workers in many districts would be reduced much below the living standard of 1914.

An intimation that the transport workers and railwaymen had decided to support the miners was followed by a message from the King to Parliament intimating that a proclamation would be issued calling up the Navy, Army, and Air Force reserves, and an appeal for volunteers to form a new "defence force," as a definite part of the military organisation, was also made.

On April 8th, at a full meeting of the three executives of the Triple Alliance, it was decided to call an Alliance strike, but a respite of four days was agreed to, as a concession by the militants to those who were opposed to a strike, chiefly on the ground that the movement was not prepared for the task of controlling it, in face of the elaborate military preparations of the Government. Those who knew the facts believed that somehow or other a general strike would be avoided, but the danger was that the current of circumstances would become too strong, and that the movement would simply drift helplessly into a situation which might lead to chaos and disaster if not to revolution.

The purpose of those who were playing

for time was served by a decision to seek an interview with Mr. Lloyd George on the morning of the 9th. After a day of long discussions during which efforts were made to persuade the miners' executive to reverse its decision about the pumpmen and safety workers, a compromise was reached late at night. The miners' executive agreed to issue an instruction that officials and volunteers (who might, of course, include members of the Federation) manning the pumps were not to be interfered with.

At a conference which followed, the Prime Minister proposed that the conference should fix a standard wage for each district, and that future adjustments of these standards should be decided upon by a national committee. The Government further proposed that, conditionally upon a settlement being reached on these lines, some financial help, in the form of a loan or otherwise, might be given to enable the industry to tide over the worst period.

After a meeting of his executive, Mr. Hodges wrote to the Prime Minister formally stating that they "feel compelled to reject the terms proposed, as they offer no solution of the present dispute." Meanwhile, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Williams had wired to their districts to the effect that the Alliance strike, which was to have begun at midnight, would be postponed.

During these negotiations Mr. Hodges first stated the details of his pool scheme, which was to the effect that a levy should be imposed on each ton of coal raised, to form a national pool fund, from which contributions should be made to those collieries certified as unable to pay the national standard wage. The levy was to be reckoned as an item in the cost of production. This meant that it would have to be met before the miners could share in any surplus profit, and Mr. Hodges argued, therefore, that 85 per cent of it, or the miners' proportion of surplus profits, would actually be contributed by the miners, and only 15 per cent by the owners.

On the 13th the Triple Alliance met again and announced that their strike had been timed for 10 o'clock of Friday night the 15th. The railway locomotive-men's union joined in the movement, and a notification of the decision was sent to the Prime Minister by Mr. Thomas and Mr. Williams. Mr. Lloyd George replied that the decision was a grave one. It was a threat to dislocate the services so essential to the life of the nation; "I should like to know," he added, "the grounds on which you have determined to inflict such a serious blow on your fellow-countrymen."

The next day, April 14th, brought a dramatic development as a prelude to the sensational anti-climax of the 15th. The deadlock appeared to be complete. The public feeling was tense and anxious. While the Government made feverish preparations to cope with a stoppage, the feeling rapidly gained ground that the rigid attitude of the owners and Government against the miners was not justified, and that the wage reductions proposed were indefensible.

Early in the evening a General Council of Labour, representing all the national, political and industrial bodies, met at the House of Commons, and called upon "every citizen who cares for the well-being of the community to stand solidly against this attack on the workers' position." The military measures of the Government were condemned as "calculated to provoke public feeling and so create disorder."

The anxiety of members of parliament was reflected in an invitation to Lord Gainford to address them the same evening on the owners' case. It got abroad in the lobby that his speech had created a bad impression, and some one suggested that Mr. Hodges, who, with other Triple Alliance leaders, was dining in the House, should state the miners' case. He accepted, and attended the meeting in company with Mr. Thomas, Mr. Herbert Smith, and other miners' leaders. He made a powerfully argumentative speech, which led to keen questioning, and at this stage he expressed the opinion that the miners would be willing to negotiate a temporary wages settlement, which did not prejudice the question of the pool as part of a later permanent settlement.

This statement was eagerly discussed, and some members went to the Prime Minister at midnight to inform him of what had taken place. The result was that on the Friday morning, April 15th, the Prime Minister sent a letter to the

parties, inviting them to a meeting at the Board of Trade to discuss the possibility mentioned by Mr. Hodges.

The owners quickly responded, but, in company with Ministers, they waited in vain for the miners. The reason was that fateful meetings were in progress at the headquarters of the Miners' Federation in Russell Square, and at Unity House near by, where the executives of the railwaymen and transport workers were in stormy session.

By a majority of one the miners' executive repudiated the action of their secretary and carried a resolution declining to accept the Prime Minister's invitation. Thereupon Mr. Hodges tendered his resignation, but was prevailed upon to withdraw it for the time being, at any rate. When these facts were communicated to the other parties in the Alliance they had an immediate disruptive effect on the Unity House conference.

A section of the executive members there desired to go forward with the general strike movement under any circumstances, but the majority of the leaders declared that a conflict under such conditions would be disastrous and suicidal. There was a dramatic contest for supremacy, but in the end the advocates of withdrawal prevailed, and it was resolved to call off the strike. Earlier in the day the transport and railwaymen's leaders had pressed the miners to negotiate a temporary settlement.

The miners' executive decided to call a national conference for the following Friday to consider the new situation, and the members dispersed to the coalfields, after giving the impression that the miners would be stiffened by what they regarded as the "betrayal" of the Alliance.

For the sake of clearness, it will be well to explain here the later developments in connection with the Triple Alliance action. On the Saturday morning a brief explanation of their action was given by the executives of the railwaymen and transport workers in the following terms:—

"In consequence of the confusion which confronted the conference on Friday morning, no reasonable hope remained of securing the spontaneous and united action of the three bodies, which was so essential to give to the Miners' Federation the assistance they sought.

"A partial and hopelessly incomplete sympathetic stoppage would have weakened the power of the three organisations without contributing any material assistance to the miners.

"Up to Thursday evening there was every hope of a tremendous display of working-class solidarity. The circumstances which have transpired since that time have destroyed the firm ground on which the call for strike action was based.

"The conference profoundly regrets the changed situation, but no other course was open to us than to arrive regretfully at the conclusion to call off the strike."

The officials of the Transport Workers' Federation defended their part in the affair at their annual conference at Edinburgh on June 9th. Mr. Williams declared that the failure was due to the unwillingness or incapacity of the miners' leaders to realise the need for united counsel as well as action. He complained, in effect, that while the miners desired the aggressive help of the other unions, they declined to admit their colleagues of those unions into consideration of, and negotiation on, the matters at issue. If, he added, the transport workers and railwaymen went into the struggle it must be as partners, and not as some one dragged in at the tail.

Mr. Bevin defended his own action with equal emphasis and candour. He attributed the débacle to the fact that no adequate preparation had been made, as well as to the autonomy of the various bodies concerned.

The miners reserved their own comments on the situation until their annual conference at Llandudno in August.

Meanwhile, on the eve of a visit to America, on May 1st, Mr. J. H. Thomas had given to a private meeting of N.U.R. members at Derby an account of the "Black Friday" proceedings, and this was published as soon as the miners' dispute was settled. He declared that at 7 o'clock on the evening of April 14th he believed that nothing could stop the Alliance strike, but, in his view, the statement of Mr. Hodges to members of parliament completely altered the situation. Mr. Thomas stated that the other Alliance partners were unanimously of

the opinion that the miners should consider a temporary wages settlement on the lines suggested by Mr. Hodges.

Neither the miners, railwaymen, nor transport workers took any action in their annual conferences with the object either of terminating the Alliance or reconsidering its constitution. The opinion of individual leaders was that the Alliance could not be restored, and that Labour would look to the new Trade Union Congress General Council to co-ordinate its actions.

Returning to the course of the coal dispute, it was at this stage that definite evidence of the cleavage in the miners' executive was given. Mr. Straker, one of the oldest members of the executive, defended the action taken by Mr. Hodges, and attributed the Alliance fiasco to the miners' executive's "blind slavery to crude majorityism." Other members expressed the view that Mr. Hodges had exceeded his functions in addressing the Commons meeting and expressing opinions on policy without the authorisation of his executive.

The coalfield meetings, held to instruct the delegates for the conference, were almost unanimous in support of the executive majority, except in Northumberland and Leicester. When the trend of feeling became clear the Prime Minister took advantage of various informal discussions in the Press to issue an unconditional invitation to the miners and owners to meet him again.

The delegate conference on April 22nd authorised the executive to reopen negotiations, but declared emphatically that no settlement which did not include the national wages scheme and pool must be accepted. At the end of the new negotiation conference the Government offered a grant of £10,000,000, with maximum reductions in wages of 3s. a day in May and 3s. 6d. in June. This offer was conditional on the acceptance by the miners of a district wages settlement and the definite abandonment of the demand for a national wages scheme and a pool.

This meant a reversion to the widely differing district wages as soon as the Government grant was exhausted, and in accordance with their conference instruction the executive rejected the offer. The Government having expressed surprise, proceeded to consider measures for preserving the essential services of the country, and, as was revealed later, one of these was the organisation of a supply of foreign coal, including reparations coal from Germany.

The coalfields now settled down to a pacific but stubborn struggle with growing privation. Although the funds of the unions were depleted, reliable reports from all centres showed that astonishing unity prevailed among the men, and that although many of them did not understand clearly what was involved in the demand for the pool they had been convinced by local leaders and the delegate conference decisions that it was the right policy. They were unaware of the real views of the leading officials of the Federation. Therefore they were prepared to maintain the struggle for the pool to the very last. A considerable minority would have been glad to resume work on almost any terms, but they were overborne by the great majority.

On May 5th, the Home Secretary defended the emergency powers regulations against an attack by the Labour members, and declared that the Government would use them to secure the distribution of coal brought in from abroad. The transport workers and railwaymen replied by declaring an embargo on the handling of foreign coal, but after a period of chaotic action this was abandoned because the majority of the workers concerned ignored the instructions of the unions.

So the dispute drifted over Whitsuntide, while the condition of trade throughout the country steadily grew worse, and the unemployment figures bounded up.

On the initiative of the Prime Minister, negotiations were resumed on May 27th, the 57th day of the stoppage. The proposals at first placed before the miners' executive differed very little from those they had been asked to accept previously, but in discussion they were somewhat modified, and both owners and miners agreed to refer them to the districts. The terms provided briefly that:—

> The £10,000,000 grant should be used during a temporary period of three months, during which there would be a "scaling down" of wages by uniform reductions.

During this three months the owners should forego profits in the districts where aid from the Government grant was given.

The terms for the permanent settlement to be decided by a national wages board, or a tribunal of three persons, or a single arbitrator, and that as a condition of receiving the grant the parties should pledge themselves to accept the decisions of the arbitrating body as to the district wages standards, the proportion of wages to profits, and so on.

It was soon evident that the feeling in the coalfields had changed very little, notwithstanding the growing economic and food difficulties. The Northumberland men rejected the proposals, along with the vast majority of the men in other districts, but they asked that a new delegate conference should be called, and that the delegates should be left untrammelled by instructions, so that they might discuss the whole situation freely, and decide for themselves what action ought to be recommended. The owners accepted the proposals with certain reservations.

The decision of the coalfields was all the more remarkable because Mr. Lloyd George had announced to Mr. Hodges that a time limit of two weeks would be put on the offer of the £10,000,000 grant, which would be withdrawn if no settlement was reached within that period.

In consequence of this, and the adverse votes of the miners, Mr. Evan Williams took the personal initiative, early in June, of suggesting that the miners and owners should themselves meet and try to reach a settlement. The general industrial situation at this time was such, indeed, as to make everyone anxious for a settlement of the coal dispute. Demands for drastic reductions in wages had been made in the engineering, cotton, and woollen industries, and altogether over five million workers were effected. The possibility of a desperate position arising if these workers were driven to act together was not lost sight of, although later events showed that the danger was small, because the workers in the other industries were not in the mood to engage in a starvation fight.

The discussions with the owners resulted in definite terms being hammered out, and a miners' national conference decided on June 10th to submit these to a ballot vote. The men were asked to state on the ballot papers whether they accepted the terms or wished to fight on for the national settlement and pool.

The temporary settlement proposals provided that with the aid of the £10,000,000 grant the reduction until August 1st should be not more than 2s. per day, and that the reductions after that date should be agreed upon mutually.

For the permanent scheme it was proposed that a national wages board should be set up to guide the district boards in fixing district wages, and that the national board should fix the proportion of wages to profits. For the new standard wage the owners suggested the 1914 standard wage in each district, plus the various district additions to the standards, together with an addition of 20 per cent.

Even the miners' leaders were surprised at the strength of feeling shown against these terms, which were rejected by the large majority of 254,890 votes. The vote for acceptance was 180,724, against 435,614 for rejection. The vote in every district, with the exception of the enginemen and cokemen, was against acceptance.

On June 17th the miners' executive considered the situation, and decided simply to send the following telegram to the districts: "Ballot vote in favour of continuing the fight."

The executive was again sharply divided on policy. Some members considered that it was hopeless to continue the struggle, but a bare majority was in favour of intensifying the struggle. On the following morning, therefore, it was decided to invite representatives of other unions affected by wage reduction demands to meet the miners to discuss the possibility of common action. On the same day Mr. Lloyd George expressed regret at the decision to continue the struggle, and intimated that the offer of the grant-in-aid could not remain open after Sunday, June 19th.

During the next few days the really desperate conditions in the coalfields became known by the announcement that many of the co-operative societies were no longer in a position to give credit,

and that the resources of many food kitchens were exhausted.

The most clear-sighted of the leaders saw that, under the circumstances, defeat was inevitable, and they were now concerned to get the best possible settlement with the least possible delay. The annual conference of the Labour Party at Brighton gave an opportunity for bringing matters to an issue, and an exceedingly difficult task was accomplished with great skill and discretion by Mr. Frank Hodges.

Informal conferences showed that the leaders of the unions which had been invited to meet the miners disapproved of any attempt to organise common aggressive action. On June 21st, therefore, Mr. Hodges addressed the conference. He described the social and economic forces against the miners as too strong for them.

Mr. Hodges then appealed for increased support, but definitely foreshadowed defeat, and expressed a hope that means would be found to end the struggle quickly before "chaos and disorder reign where now discipline and goodwill and solidarity hold the field."

The speech deeply moved the conference, and silenced any criticism that might have been expressed in other circumstances. Later in the conference a resolution was passed urging the affiliated societies to give increased aid to the miners.

The miners' executive met in London on June 24th, and cancelled the conference of other unions. Sir Robert Horne had hinted in the House of Commons on the same day that the Government would be glad to arrange another negotiating conference, and the miners' executive decided to meet the owners and the Government "with a view to arriving at a satisfactory wages agreement which they could recommend their members to accept."

The end now came quickly. It was obvious, from guarded comments by Sir Robert Horne in the House, that informal conversations had taken place, and that each party understood clearly the position of the other. Mr. Hodges wrote to the Prime Minister on the Friday night, June 26th, informing him of the desire of his executive for a conference. This was duly held on the Monday, and after an adjournment at a point when peace still seemed doubtful, a provisional settlement was arrived at. Mr. Lloyd George renewed his offer of the £10,000,000 grant, conditionally upon the approval of Parliament (which was readily given), and the miners' executive agreed to recommend acceptance to their members. It transpired later that during the preceding weekend Mr. Smith, Mr. Hodges, and Mr. Robson had visited the Prime Minister at Chequers.

In their communication to the members the executive expressed the opinion that the national settlement and pool could not be won by a continuance of the struggle. "Every economic and political factor," they wrote, "is dead against us."

The principal points in the settlement were :—

The temporary settlement to last for three months, and the disbursement of the Government grant to be limited to this period.

The maximum reductions during this period to be :—

July..... 2s. per shift.
August .... 2s. 6d. per shift.
September .. 3s. per shift.

In connection with the permanent settlement a joint national board and district boards were to be set up at once.

The standard wage in each district to be, for a period of 15 months from October, 1921, 20 per cent above what might be termed broadly the 1914 standards.

The standard profit to be 17 per cent of the aggregate amount of wages on this basis.

The surplus profit—that is the amount of net profit left after the standard wages and standard profit demands have been satisfied—to be divided in the proportion of 17 per cent for the owners and 83 per cent for the men.

The standard wages to be the first charge on the industry, and any deficiency in the standard profit in one accounting period to be carried forward as a debt to the owners, to be liquidated before the division of any surplus profits.

The acceptance of this profit-sharing scheme for a whole industry, of such magnitude and importance as the coal industry, was regarded as a considerable event in the industrial world. The

Government and employers generally hailed it as a great step forward. The miners' leaders commended it to their members, but doubts as to its wisdom were expressed by some leaders in other industries. One important clause in the agreement provided that the district boards should fix a "subsistence wage" for the lowest-paid workers if it was held that the rates applicable under the scheme in any district fell below this standard.

In effect, the settlement meant that day wage workers, who number about two-thirds of the total number of mine workers, would not be able to earn, after the temporary period, more than 20 per cent above the 1914 standard, until a standard of profit much higher than that of pre-war years had been reached. Consequently, critics of the settlement prophesied a recurrence of discontent when this stage was reached.

The vote at district meetings on the terms resulted as follows:—

For acceptance ..	832,840
Against	105,820
Majority for acceptance	727,020

The executive received the voting results on July 1st, and at once despatched instructions for an immediate resumption of work. Expectations that this culmination of the stoppage would have a disruptive effect in the Miners' Federation were not fulfilled, apart from the secession of certain mechanical workers.

A sad event was connected with the end of the dispute. Mr. James Winstone, one of the best-known and most respected of the South Wales members of the Federation, was seized with appendicitis after the executive meeting on the day of the settlement, and he died in a London nursing home some time after an operation.

The return to work in the coalfields was as general as the condition of the mines would allow. Much repair work had to be done, and several of the smaller pits were closed down permanently. It had been known for some time that the industry was overstaffed. Many of the additional men employed since the end of the war had been engaged on development work, and to this was largely due the fall in the output per person employed, a fact which was not stated when the figures were used to prejudice the miners in the public mind.

When the mines were reopened this development work was no longer necessary. Consequently a large number of miners, estimated at from two to three hundred thousand, were not reabsorbed into the industry at the start, and it was expected that even when all the pits were in full working order many thousands would have to seek other occupations.

The general cost of the stoppage to the community could not be estimated, but the direct charge on the Treasury alone (quite apart from loss of wages and trade) was, according to Sir Robert Horne, no less than £19,000,000, including the £10,000,000 grant.

Those who argued that if in the first place the Government had continued the control arrangements until August, on condition that the owners and men agreed to a reasonable reduction in wages, the country would have been saved immense loss, found ample justification in these facts. The cost of the military measures taken by the Government was nearly nine millions.

At the annual conference of the Miners' Federation at Llandudno in August, the acting-president, Mr. Herbert Smith, spoke very frankly about the dispute. He revealed the fact that from the beginning the leading officials and a minority of the executive had been convinced that a fight for the pool was hopeless, and he expressed the opinion that the price of their loyalty to the majority decisions had been too high, because it was the price of the misery of hundreds and thousands of miners and their families. He urged that the future policy of the Federation should be practical, that while the coal industry was run as a capitalist enterprise they should make the best of it, and that any attempt to change the system should be made by political, evolutionary action.

The executive presented a report suggesting much the same policy, and after a discussion which was remarkable for its absence of bitterness or recrimination this report was adopted unanimously.

The National Coal Board was duly constituted, with Sir William Plender as

independent chairman, and, having accepted the renewal of the district method of settling wages, the Miners' Federation agreed to work the Mines Act of 1920, which they had hitherto tabooed because it conflicted with their national wages policy. This Act, as was recorded in the *People's Year Book* for 1920, provided for the appointment of joint pit committees and district committees to deal with questions and conditions of employment and other matters.

The Trade Slump and Unemployment.

The trade depression which began in the late summer of 1920 with a financial crash in Japan, extended with a rapidity which took the Government and the whole business community by surprise. Nearly every trade and industry became affected, and from the beginning of 1921 the official figures of workers registered at the exchanges as unemployed or on short time mounted rapidly.

The Government appeared to have no policy except that of providing "doles," as the unemployment benefits were commonly described. Some attempt was made to organise constructive work, but beyond the employment of about a hundred thousand men by local authorities on road making and other works, little was accomplished. The country manifested extraordinary apathy on the subject, and the unemployed themselves, with few exceptions, endured their privations silently. Large sums were paid out by boards of guardians for special relief, and this involved a heavy addition to the rates.

The Labour Party held various conferences in the early part of the year, and submitted definite proposals to the Government, but these were for the most part ignored, and Labour was unable to persuade ministers to act on the lines desired by the industrial and political movement.

Great opposition was aroused in Labour circles by an appeal to employers to organise short time as far as possible. The object was good, but the means to achieve it was open to criticism on the ground that in spreading the available work over a larger number of persons, and in preventing total unemployment as far as possible, the Government took no steps to see that the income of a vast number of people did not fall below the subsistence level. This criticism was endorsed and expressed pointedly by the National Alliance of Employers and Employed.

There was another example of futility when, after consultation with Sir Allan Smith, representing employers, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Prime Minister proposed to set up a joint committee to investigate the unemployment problem. It transpired that the Government proposed to restrict this particular inquiry to the consideration of measures to meet immediate needs, and to appoint a second body, from which Labour would be excluded, to inquire into the permanent causes of and remedies for unemployment. Labour resented this, and a joint conference of the political and industrial sides of the movement decided to take no part in the inquiry, but to set up a purely Labour committee to draft a full unemployment programme.

There was at this period a discussion on the question of imposing on each industry the responsibility for maintaining its own unemployed. Sir Allan Smith was understood to be in favour of some such scheme, and the Government toyed with the subject for a time, but after the refusal of Labour to join in the Government inquiry, with this matter as one of the terms of reference, little more was heard of it.

The Labour committee sat each day until its report was ready, and before the end of January its proposals were published. The chief recommendations were as follows :—

The resumption of trade with Russia without delay.

The organisation of trade credits with foreign countries, and the stabilisation of exchanges.

An immediate reduction of unproductive expenditure by the termination of the military "adventures" in the East, and of the Irish conflict.

The provision of the following maintenance benefit for the unemployed : 40s. per week for each householder ; 25s. for each single man or woman ; allowances for dependants ; benefit at a proportionate rate for those on short time.

The adoption of a legal eight-hour day.

The prevention of overtime.

The immediate organisation of public works, including the restoration and development of roads, railways, and waterways; the provision of electric power in bulk; the construction and repair of school buildings; land reclamation; and the development of agriculture, afforestation, and harbours.

These recommendations were considered and adopted at a joint national Labour conference on January 27th, after a weak attempt to secure the adoption of a policy of direct action to force the hands of the Government had been decisively repulsed. The conference was obviously in a depressed mood, and no speaker gave the impression that he believed the programme would be accepted by the Government. Yet the feeling was almost universal that the party had no practical alternative to political action. The argument that to institute industrial action would simply aggravate the evil and increase distress was cordially approved.

This conference was followed by discussions in Parliament, and the Prime Minister used all his arts of scorn and derision in an analysis of the Labour programme from his own point of view. He bitterly attacked the building trade unions because of their refusal to accept the Government policy of dilution (which is dealt with in another section of this review), and he declared that he realised to the full the need for restoring international trade.

The only concrete proposal of the Government, apart from the road making and building dilution schemes, was a measure to increase the scale of benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act to 18s. per week for men, 15s. for women, 9s. for boys, and 7s. 6d. for girls. The contributions were also to be raised to 11d. for employer and employee, and 2¾d. for the State. The period during which benefits could be paid was increased from fifteen to twenty-six weeks in each year. After discussion the Government agreed to increase the benefit for men to 20s., and for women to 16s.

These changes were made possible by a decision to draw upon a large reserve of about £20,000,000 which had accumulated under the Insurance Act during the war. In June, however, the Government had to announce that, owing to the abnormal demands for benefit owing to the magnitude of the trade slump and the effects of the coal dispute, the reserve was being so rapidly exhausted that a decrease in benefits was necessary. After strong opposition had been expressed by Labour members the Government's proposals were agreed to by the House. The new rates were :—

15s. per week or 2s. 6d. per day for men ;
12s. or 2s. for women ;
7s. 6d. or 1s. 3d. for boys ;
6s. or 1s. for girls.

Dr. Macnamara declared that unless the change was made there would be at the end of the financial year an adverse balance of nearly £14,000,000. The Labour members contrasted bitterly the attitude of the Government towards prodigal expenditure in the East and the provision of funds for social reconstruction at home.

A second joint Labour conference on unemployment was held on February 24th to consider the situation after the futile appeal to Parliament. Another attempt was made to commit the movement to direct action on the question, but Mr. Clynes and others vigorously opposed this on the ground that industrial action would be ineffective. A resolution expressing approval of an intensified political campaign was carried almost unanimously.

It was not until several weeks after the end of the coal dispute that what might be called the normal figures of unemployment could be estimated again. It was then seen that the rate of increase had grown less since the early months of the year. The following figures will give some idea of the seriousness of the situation :—

	Number unemployed.
April 1	1,506,000
„ 15	1,677,000
May 27 (coal dispute period)	2,126,800
June 30 (end of coal dispute)	2,177,000
July 31	1,790,000

In addition to these there were many unemployed but unregistered, and the number of short-time workers fluctuated from one to one and a half millions during the period mentioned above.

Many of the trade unions admitted a severe drain on their funds. Some of the

smaller associations of cotton workers found great difficulty in meeting demands for unemployment benefit, and the surplus of £1,000,000 left by the war-time Cotton Control Board was distributed in benefits.

As an example of the difficulties experienced by local authorities, the Wandsworth Board of Guardians stated in July that if the special unemployment relief was continued they would have a deficit of over £50,000 by September. In Poplar the burden of relieving distress was so great that to meet all the obligations and the normal contributions required by the London County Council and the Water Board a rate of 38s. in the pound would be necessary. The Labour majority on the council refused to levy this, and an effort to compel them led to the committal of a number of them for contempt of court. They declared that their main purpose in resisting was to force to the front the necessity for a measure to equalise the London rates, and so to abolish obvious injustices on the poorer boroughs.

From August to November there was an interval between two periods of benefit under the State scheme, and in many districts the distress became acute. At the London docks there were daily struggles of thousands of men for a few jobs.

Much discontent was caused in the mining districts by the ruling of umpires under the Insurance Scheme that the men who could not be re-absorbed into the industry were not entitled to insurance benefit, because their unemployment was held to be due to the trade dispute.

Just before Parliament adjourned in August, Labour members warned the Government of the seriousness of the outlook for the early winter months, but the Government announced no new proposals, and appeared still to acquiesce in a policy of drift.

The reality of the crisis became apparent during September, when the "dole" ceased until November. In response to the demands of processions of unemployed, boards of guardians in various parts of the country agreed to raise the scales of relief payment, so that in many cases as much as £3 per family per week was paid. The Trade Union Congress at Cardiff bitterly condemned the Government's inactivity, and demanded the national organisation of work or relief, with a strong preference for work. Mr. Clynes urged that a national agitation should be initiated, and this was done within a few weeks.

Under these various forms of pressure the Government appointed a Cabinet Committee to consider what measures could be taken. Its first proposals were to the effect that local authorities should raise loans for relief works, and that the Treasury should pay half the interest and half the sinking fund charges for a period not exceeding fifteen years. This was rejected as utterly inadequate by practically all local authorities, on the ground that they were already overburdened financially. The Labour mayors of London boroughs journeyed to Inverness and Gairloch, where the Prime Minister was taking holiday, with the object of pressing their case on the attention of the Prime Minister. Mr. Lloyd George had discountenanced the idea of an interview, but in spite of indisposition he consented to see the Mayors when they insisted on carrying out their mission. Meanwhile the unemployed grew restive in many districts, and there were occasional conflicts with the police. In October the Cabinet discussed the problem at several meetings. Trade and labour experts were consulted, and relief measures were considered by Parliament when it reassembled at the end of the month.

The General Wage Reduction Movement.

In the three months following the end of the miners' dispute, the reductions of wages brought about in the general industries of the country were so numerous that it is only possible to give a brief account of two or three of the most important, as examples of what took place in all the industrial centres. In several industries conflicts were threatened in the early stages of negotiations, but invariably the leaders feared the consequences, in view of the experience of the miners, and, consequently, they strove to avoid strife.

Engineers and Shipbuilders.

The demand for reduction in these trades was made in the spring, and a settlement was reached without much difficulty by the shipbuilders. The

employers abated their first drastic claim, and a compromise was agreed to whereby a reduction of 6s. a week in two instalments was accepted by the men.

The engineering negotiations were protracted, and reached a critical stage in July. The employers had demanded a cut of 6s. a week in addition to the abolition of the 12½ per cent bonus on gross earnings given by Mr. Churchill during the war. This would have meant a reduction of about 15s. a week for skilled men on time, £1 or over for piece workers, and from 10s. to 12s. for labourers. The men decisively rejected this, but expressed willingness to accept the same settlement as the shipbuilders. The employers were obdurate, and went to the length of posting lockout notices. Finally, after further conferences, and several interventions by the Ministry of Labour, it was agreed that there should be two cuts of 3s. a week each, and that the question of the 12½ per cent bonus should be reviewed in the light of the conditions of the trade in September.

In August, however, it was announced that the war would terminate officially in September, and this had the effect of freeing the employers from any legal liability to pay the bonus, as Mr. Churchill's order, which directed employers to pay it, stated specifically that it was to be applied only during the war.

The employers in September offered to spread the withdrawal of the bonus over a period of three months ending in December, but delegate conferences of the engineering and shipbuilding unions rejected this solution, whereupon notice was given by the employers that the whole of the bonus would be withdrawn on October 10th.

This was afterwards modified by an ultimatum that with or without agreement the bonus would be taken off in three stages—on November 1, December 1, and January 1.

Seamen.

In the late spring the shipowners submitted to the National Maritime Board a claim for a reduction of £2. 10s. per month and 8s. 6d. a week on weekly vessels, in the wages of seamen, with corresponding variations for ship's officers and other grades. This was accepted by the Seamen's Union on the advice of Mr. Havelock Wilson, but the Cooks' and Stewards' Union rejected the demand, and engaged in a brief and futile dispute, which led to trouble between Mr. Wilson's Union and the Transport Workers' Federation.

The Federation supported the cooks and stewards, but the sailors took no heed of this, with the result that the shipowners were able to make up the staffs of the vessels. The Aquitania, for instance, sailed to New York with a volunteer staff of stewards, largely contributed by the clerical staff of the Cunard Company. The outcome was that, following upon a resolution of severe censure of the Seamen's Union at the annual conference of the Transport Federation, the union anticipated expulsion by withdrawing its affiliation.

The dock workers, as well as the sailors, showed no inclination to support the cooks and stewards. This made their defeat inevitable, and provided another instance of the inability of the Transport Workers' Federation to secure compliance with its instructions in times of severe trade depression and unemployment.

The Textile Trades.

In May all the workers in the cotton and woollen textile trades were faced with demands for heavy wage reductions. The cotton employers asked for a decrease which would have had the effect of reducing earnings by 6s. in the £. After discussion, in the course of which a compromise on the basis of a cut of 5s. in the £ was suggested by the employers, lockout notices came into operation. The workers offered first to concede 2s. 8d. and afterwards 3s. in the £. Then they asked for arbitration, which was refused. Half a million operatives were thrown out, and this led the Minister of Labour to intervene. After further negotiations, and some friction between the unions concerned, a settlement was accepted under which there was an immediate reduction of 3s. 10d. in the £, with a proviso that this should be increased to 4s. 5d. at the end of six months.

In the woollen trade the operatives had already suffered a reduction of 40 per cent under the cost of living sliding scale accepted in the previous year, but the employers insisted on a

further substantial decrease in their labour costs. The first demand, couched in the usual technical percentage terms, was estimated to call for a drop of 17s. a week by men, 10s. 4d. by women, and 22s. 8d. by overlookers. Put in another form it represented a reduction of 22½ per cent on gross earnings. After prolonged negotiations a compromise was reached. The operatives accepted a reduction of 16½ per cent, and this was not to be altered until the cost of living fell to 95 per cent below the 1914 standard.

Dock Workers.

In July the Transport Workers' Federation had to consider a demand from the port employers for a reduction of 4s. a day in the minimum of 16s. gained in the previous year by the award of Lord Shaw's court. It was found impossible to resist a substantial reduction, in face of the serious unemployment at the docks, and the fact that it was no uncommon spectacle to see men at the London docks fighting for the available jobs. The men's leaders did succeed, however, in getting a compromise under which a reduction of 2s. a day began on August 4th, and a further reduction of 1s. a day in the first week of January, 1922. Owing to the conditions of trade the dockers' union found it impossible to make any progress with the scheme for maintenance during unemployment and the decasualisation of the industry.

The Farm Workers.

An attack on the greatly-improved conditions of life won by agricultural workers during the war was initiated in June by the announcement of the Government that the Agricultural Act of 1920 would be repealed without delay. This Act contained provisions under which farmers were to be guaranteed a certain price for grain for four years. Another part of the Act established a national agricultural wages board, with district boards to work in association with it, and this body was charged with the task of fixing minimum wages for the various classes of workers in the different districts.

The result was that at the time of the repeal of the Act a minimum of 46s. a week for ordinary farm workers had been established, together with a fifty-two hour week and a weekly half-holiday. All these concessions had been strongly resisted by a large body of farmers, and objection had been raised more especially to the limitation of hours and the weekly holiday. The extent of the opposition may be gauged from the fact that the men's unions had recovered no less than £300,000 in arrears of wages increases from farmers who refused to pay the rates fixed until compelled by process of law.

When the general financial condition of the country caused the Government to repudiate its corn price obligations under the Act, the simultaneous abolition of the Wages Board was regarded as a measure of compensation to the farmers. Government spokesmen declared that the two things had hung together, although when the Bill was before Parliament the same spokesmen argued that there was no connection between the two and that the Wages Board was established in order to guarantee the labourers from a return to the indefensible conditions of the pre-war period.

The repeal created a great agitation among labourers throughout the country. Demonstrations attended by many thousands were organised in the principal farming districts, and the Government was quickly impressed by the evidence that if the men were left once more to the mercy of individual bargaining there would be a great turnover of votes to the Labour party. At the same time there was equal fear of the farmers' anger if the corn price guarantee was removed and the Wages Board left in existence.

The result of much discussion and manœuvring was the insertion in the repeal measure of clauses setting up district conciliation committees. It was provided that if a committee agreed upon a wages scale and registered the agreement with the Government department an aggrieved labourer would be able to sue in the county court a farmer who paid less than the rate fixed. The union leaders saw clearly enough that this tree would bear little fruit, because farmers would decline to commit themselves by registering an agreement. Nevertheless, they were compelled to advise acceptance of the measure, because of the weakness of the unions

owing to the fact that several hundred thousand men were not members.

They were also powerless to prevent a reduction of 6s. a week, with a minimum of 42s., which was carried by the national wages board as its expiring act. The men's representatives opposed the reduction, but the farmers and the Government nominees joined in support of the proposal.

The union officials expressed a hope that when the new conciliation boards were appointed the farmers would be content with this reduction, but they feared a concerted attack on the shorter working week and the half-day holiday.

This fear proved to be well grounded. At the end of September only sixteen conciliation boards had agreed on wages, and not one group of farmers was willing to register the agreement. In some counties a minimum wage of 39s. had to be accepted, and in others where no agreement was reached, the farmers refused to pay more than 36s. The compromise legislation was an absolute failure, and the farm workers found themselves once more in an unprotected and helpless position.

Cost of Living Basis Reductions.

In various occupations the workers had their wages reduced in accordance with agreements based on a cost of living sliding scale, and in others cuts were negotiated roughly in accordance with this principle. The joint committee of trade unionists and co-operators, for instance, arbitrating in a dispute between the societies in the north-western area and their employees decided upon reductions of from 1s. to 5s. a week for juniors, 5s. for women, and 4s. to 5s. for men.

Railway workers accepted a total fall of 9s. a week up to September, on the basis of the agreement negotiated after the railway strike in 1919, and this meant a saving to the companies of many million pounds a year.

In September civil servants of all grades were called upon to accept drastic cuts in their bonuses under the sliding scale. The loss of bonus amounted to £38 a year on a basic salary of £100, and to £167 on a basic salary of £1,000. The whole of the postal servants were affected by this reduction.

Ship Joiners' Strike.

A strike of joiners in the shipbuilding yards resembled in some respects the stubborn struggle of the moulders in the preceding year. Towards the end of 1920 the employers gave notice that an advance of 12s. a week given six months earlier would be withdrawn. Negotiations broke down and the men struck. They remained out for thirty-nine weeks, during which period several unsuccessful attempts were made to settle the dispute. Woodwork on many vessels was held up, and a number of ships were sent to yards abroad to be finished. Here and there the foreign workers refused to touch the jobs, but this action was not general. Many of the strikers were absorbed into other branches of the joinery trade. In September a compromise settlement was reached. The employees agreed to a reduction of 6s. immediately, and a further 3s. in October, leaving the question of the remaining 3s. for discussion in December.

Railway Reorganisation and the Workers.

Railway control came to an end in August, 1921, and this fact was of great importance to the workers. The various war-time agreements by which wages and conditions had been regulated were in reality agreements between the railway unions and the Government. The companies were under no legal obligation to observe them when the lines came into their possession again, and there was ominous talk at the annual meetings of shareholders at the beginning of the year about the necessity of drastic reductions in wages.

The episodes of the coal dispute had an obvious effect upon directors who favoured an attack on the railwaymen's wages, and during that dispute there were secret negotiations which resulted in an understanding that promised to avoid trouble when decontrol took place.

The principle of national settlements was accepted by the managers, and it was agreed that the two tribunals set up by the Government to deal with railway wages and conditions—the National and Central Boards—should continue in existence. The situation was complicated by the Government legislation to bring about an amalgamation of all the railways into four big groups (see the

summary of the Railways Act at page 280 of this volume), and the negotiations were in part based upon the intention of the Government to concede to some extent the demand of the railway unions for a share in administrative control.

The railway managers were strongly opposed to this, and the union officials were not greatly impressed by the small amount of representation which the Government proposed to give them on the boards of directors. They had to choose between the doubtful advantage of a very small minority voice in the settlement of affairs, and the offer of the managers to continue the national machinery for fixing wages and conditions, together with a further arrangement under which an elaborate system of local joint committees was to be set up. The latter alternative was chosen, the agreement arrived at was incorporated in the Act governing the railway amalgamation, and an important precedent was established by this recognition of the functions of the unions in an Act of Parliament.

The scheme of railway councils, sectional councils, and departmental committees was more far-reaching than was at first generally recognised. It provided that almost every detail of the ordinary work of running the lines could come under review by one or other of these bodies, which were to be created for a whole railway, for different classes of the workers, and for stations and depots.

The local application of national agreements relating to wages and conditions, suggestions as to operating and kindred subjects, co-operation with a view to securing greater efficiency and economy, the well-being of the staff, and even the general conditions governing recruitment, promotion, discipline, and tenure of service, were specifically set forth as subjects with which the joint councils should have authority to deal. In the opinion of the officials of the unions the new machinery offered scope for experience and training which would carry the workers far in the direction of actual control in the running of the lines.

The scheme was scoffed at by some of the left wing men in the railway unions, but the annual conference of the N.U.R. at Newcastle in July endorsed it by a decisive majority.

Following upon decontrol no suggestions were made by English companies for reductions in wages beyond those provided for under the sliding scale agreement. The Scottish companies demanded a further drop, but this was resisted.

The controversy between the N.U.R. and the Amalgamated Engineering Union on the question of the right to negotiate for the railway shopmen continued through the year. The railway companies finally announced a reduction of 6s. a week, and this was accepted by both unions separately. The N.U.R. endeavoured to secure from the Trade Union Congress an expression of opinion that the A.E.U. had acted wrongly, but Mr. Brownlie, for the engineers, made a spirited defence, and the Congress avoided a decision by a previous question vote.

No further progress towards the amalgamation of the three railway unions was made, and the Clerks' Association decided by a very large majority against a suggestion that overtures should be made with this object.

The Building Trades.

Several times during the year serious trouble was threatened in the building trades, but strife was avoided, and by autumn the industry seemed to have settled down to more peaceful conditions. The most interesting events were concerned with the fiasco of the Government's dilution policy and the development of the Guild Movement.

The action of the Government in regard to dilution was inexplicable. The Minister of Labour repeatedly stated in the early part of the year that, notwithstanding the opposition of the unions, the Government intended to press forward its scheme for the absorption of 50,000 ex-service men into the industry. They went so far as to offer the unions a bribe of £5 for each man absorbed. When this was rejected an arrangement was made with the employers, under which a certain proportion of ex-service men was to be taken on by each employer, and the Government promised that if the unions took action against any employer they would use all their resources to protect him. The rates to be paid in the earlier part of the training were to be less than the union rates, and the Government was to contribute something towards the wages.

In June the employers posted notices that no one would be employed who did not agree to work with ex-service men, but the unions simply ignored this, as it was obvious that the scheme was breaking down. A few weeks afterwards Dr. Macnamara had to confess that while 18,000 men had applied for work, only 200 had been allocated to jobs, and work had actually been found for only 124.

Next came the cry for drastic economies, and the Government went back on all its estimates regarding the number of houses needed. It was announced that no further contracts for housing schemes would be signed, and that the Government liabilities would be limited in every possible way. At the same time it was admitted that over 100,000 men were already unemployed in the building trades, and little was heard about dilution after this.

The Guild Movement.

The building guild movement which had become solidly established in the preceding year continued to develop in spite of strong opposition and obstruction of the employers, and obstacles placed in its way by the Ministry of Health. The work of the guilds in the actual construction of houses won praise from all the experts who examined it, and statistics showing that the cost was much less than that of schemes carried out under ordinary contracts were not refuted.

Nevertheless the Government department tried to prevent the guilds from obtaining further contracts. The employers were particularly hostile to the maintenance principle on which the guilds worked, and to the non-profit making basis of the undertaking. The Ministry of Health actually tried to persuade the guilds to give up both these things, and to work on ordinary commercial lines, ignoring the fact that the better and cheaper work done by the guild operatives was due chiefly to the fact that they were secured against unemployment in bad weather by the maintenance payments, and that their labour was not being exploited for private advantage.

The fact that the Ministry refused to sign any further contracts on the original terms did not deter the guilds, and at a conference in July it was decided to amalgamate the district guilds into a national body, and to organise it for the purpose of undertaking all kinds of constructional work, from a cottage to a factory.

The profits question now became a real difficulty, but it was surmounted by an ingenious scheme known as the maximum contract estimate. In the contracts with municipal authorities the guilds had received the actual cost of their work, plus the percentage for maintenance and equipment, but if a private person wants a house building he desires to know his actual liability. The master builder meets this desire by quoting a price high enough to cover various risks, with the result that the cost of the house is often higher than the actual expenditure warrants.

The guild method is to quote a maximum price. If the actual cost is higher the loss is met from an insurance fund. If the cost is less the houscowner is charged only this actual cost, plus a small percentage of the amount saved as a contribution to the insurance fund from which losses are met. The success of the guild in its wider enterprise will depend largely upon its ability to obtain working capital, and an effort was initiated with the object of securing from the trade unions a loan fund of £150,000.

Attack on the Trade Boards.

Many trade union officials, and especially the leaders of the women's movement, were roused to bitter indignation by a concerted attack on the trade boards. This developed subtly and gradually during the year, and it became obvious by autumn that the Ministry of Labour was temporising on the matter, and that therefore the boards and the whole machinery for preventing sweated labour conditions were in grave danger.

Although the first board was established as far back as 1909, after the shocking revelations of the inquiries into sweating had evoked public indignation, little progress was made until just before the war, when a policy of slow extension of the boards was initiated. It was not until after the Act of 1918 had been passed, however, that any marked advance was made. This Act was really the result of the recommendations of the Whitley Committee, which advocated the establishment of trade boards in all industries and trades where the workers were weakly organised. The idea was

that if Whitley Councils were to be effective in bringing about industrial harmony it would not do to leave all the poorer-paid workers outside the scheme.

Therefore, it was argued, trade boards should be set up so that both employers and workers could become used to collective bargaining and so qualify for Whitley Council status. The consequence was that actual sweating conditions no longer determined whether or not a trade board should be established.

Considerable power of initiative was conferred on the Minister of Labour, and for some time this power was used vigorously. A staff of skilled investigators was appointed to inquire into the conditions of many trades, and at the beginning of 1921 about sixty boards had been constituted, while a number of others were scheduled, and inquiries were going forward in some forty other trades.

Meanwhile the tendency of the newer boards had been to act more on trade union lines and fix standard as well as minimum rates of pay, and this was made one of the excuses for the attack which came from the unscrupulous class of employers when the trade depression made its effects seriously felt. It was asserted that if only employers were free to offer less than the legal rates a great deal more work could be found. Hence, the argument ran, the trade boards are causing unemployment.

Advocates of the boards agreed that certain reforms were desirable, and a committee set up by the Minister of Labour reported in favour of changes which, it was believed, would add to the efficiency of the boards. In view of the developing attack the Minister of Labour ignored the recommendations. In September he announced that he was about to appoint a committee to inquire into the whole question. The committee, which was presided over by Lord Cave, included several well-known trade union leaders, as well as women members who were known to be sympathetic towards the anti-sweating movement, and this encouraged the defenders of the boards to organise a strenuous fight for the retention and extension of the trade board system.

They had no difficulty in showing that in trades which had no protection for the workers, shockingly low wages were being paid, and their case was greatly strengthened by the fact that on many of the existing boards the employers' representatives joined in a strong protest against abolition, on the ground that employers who wished to maintain good conditions would once more be subjected to the competition of sweated labour.

Trade Union Amalgamations.

The movement for the amalgamation of trade unions with interests in common made some progress during the year, and the most notable fusion was that of fourteen unions affiliated to the Transport Workers' Federation. This is the beginning of a movement which has for its object the organisation of a single transport union. The new body, which is called the Transport and General Workers' Union, includes nearly four hundred thousand out of just under half a million affiliated to the Federation, and among the groups of workers thus linked up are dockers, vehicle workers, horsemen and motor-men, bargemen, and general workers in the various transport industries.

Mr. Harry Gosling was chosen as the provisional president, and Mr. Ernest Bevin as the provisional secretary. The scheme of administration is based on the plan of a central executive, elected on a system which gives full representation to the various groups of workers. There will also be sectional groups to watch specially the interests of the different groups, and to organise movements concerned with pay and conditions. The chief function of the central body will be to administer the union's finances and to formulate general policy.

Another amalgamation which simplifies trade union administration in the shipbuilding industry was the union of the boilermakers, blacksmiths, woodworkers, and certain classes of engineering workers.

In March the annual conferences of the Shop Assistants' Union and the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers approved of a scheme for bringing these two bodies together, so as to secure a complete and powerful organisation of all the workers engaged in the distributive industry. The second named union was itself the result of the combination, at the beginning of the year, of the National Union of Warehouse and General Workers and the Co-operative Employees' Union.

The Labour Party Conference.

The annual conference of the Labour Party, held at Brighton in June, was notable for its subdued character and the comparative absence of controversy. This was due to a general recognition of the difficulties confronting both the political and industrial sides of the labour movement.

The burden of many of the speeches was that the weakness of industrial action in times of acute trade depression had been demonstrated by the miners' dispute, and the swing back of opinion towards more intensive political activity was marked. An attempt of a small minority to prevail on the conference to reverse the decision of the executive not to admit the Communist Party to affiliation evoked an overwhelming manifestation of anti-Communist feeling.

Although the conference declined to pass what was virtually a vote of censure on the parliamentary members, it clearly expressed an opinion that the members should have taken a stronger line against the Reparations Bill, and Mr. Clynes admitted that in his view a mistake had been made.

Discussions on unemployment included trenchant expressions of opinion that a revision of the peace treaty was essential to industrial prosperity, and the conference passed unanimously a resolution embodying this view.

A debate on the liquor question indicated that the delegates were sharply divided on the alternative policies of purchase or control, and the issue was shirked by a withdrawal of the motions dealing with the subject, on the understanding that the executive should submit a considered resolution next year.

A resolution was submitted by Mr. Sidney Webb on the question of agricultural policy, but this evoked strong criticism, and the motion was defeated. The conference thereupon decided that a special committee should be appointed to confer with representatives of the agricultural workers' trade unions with the object of formulating a comprehensive policy dealing with the whole of the problems of agriculture.

Mr. Frank Hodges, whose speeches on the coal dispute were the most noteworthy contributions to the conference proceedings, was elected at the head of the poll for the new executive. The other members are :—

J. R. Clynes, Ben Turner, Sidney Webb, F. W. Jowett, A. G. Cameron, C. T. Cramp, W. H. Hutchinson, J. Bromley, Charles Duncan, C. G. Ammon, F. B. Varley, Ben Spoor, G. Lansbury, Neil Maclean, R. J. Davis, Tom Shaw, Miss Susan Lawrence, Mrs. Harrison Bell, Mrs. Philip Snowden, and Dr. Ethel Bentham.

The Trade Union Congress.

The Trade Union Congress at Cardiff in September was, like the Labour Party Conference, remarkable for the studied avoidance of controversy, and for the general advocacy of closer unity and a mutual effort to repair mistakes of the past. Although it was not definitely expressed, the sense of temporary defeat in the wage reduction movement was obvious, and the thoughts of many of the delegates were turned more or less vaguely to the problem of rebuilding the trade union movement on a stronger basis.

The president, Mr. E. L. Poulton, expressed the views of the Congress when he suggested that if the new General Council, which replaces the Parliamentary Committee, was to be successful, there would have to be less regard for sectional interests, and that consultation must precede drastic action by individual unions.

In a discussion on unemployment strong indignation against the Government's policy of drift was expressed, and a resolution was passed demanding the immediate summoning of Parliament, the organisation of schemes of public work, and adequate maintenance for the unemployed for whom no work could be found.

A resolution on the League of Nations demanded a reorganisation of the League so as to give adequate democratic representation to all nations. Another resolution strongly condemned the attack on the trade boards, and a further motion urged that Labour should be directly represented at the Washington Disarmament Conference.

Owing to a dispute about the method of voting, the election of the General Council at the Congress was declared invalid, and a new election took place through the districts after the conference.

The eighteen groups into which the unions are now divided for the purpose of representation, together with their members of the Council, are as follows :—

Mining and Quarrying : R. Smillie, H. Murnin, R. T. Jones.

Railways : J. H. Thomas, A. G. Walkden, J. Bromley.

Transport : H. Gosling, Ben Tillett.

Shipbuilding : J. Hill.

Engineering, Founding, and Vehicle Building : A. B. Swales, J. Rowan, A. Findlay.

Iron and Steel and Minor Metal Trades : A. Pugh, W. Kean.

Building, Woodworking, and Furnishing : G. Hicks, A. A. Purcell.

Printing and Paper : H. Skinner.

Cotton : H. Boothman, J. W. Ogden.

Other Textiles : Ben Turner.

Clothing : A. Conley.

Leather and Boot and Shoe : E. L. Poulton.

Glass, Pottery, Chemicals, Food, Drink, Tobacco, Brushmaking, and Distribution : J. Turner.

Agriculture : R. B. Walker.

Public Employees : J. W. Bowen.

Non-manual Workers : J. B. Williams.

General Workers : J. Beard, J. N. Bell, J. Davenport, W. Thorne.

Women Workers : M. Bondfield, J. Varley.

Political and Industrial Co-ordination.

At the conferences of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress a scheme for the co-ordination of the two sides of the movement was adopted. It provides for the establishment of a national joint council which is to "consider all questions affecting the labour movement as a whole, and make provision for taking immediate and united action on all questions of national emergency." It is also to endeavour to secure a common policy on all questions affecting the workers as producers, consumers, and citizens.

The Council is to establish four departments :—

1. For research and information.
2. For the collection and publication of information on international affairs.
3. For the organisation of publicity.
4. For the provision of legal advice and the preparation of parliamentary bills.

A delicate question arose in connection with the Labour Research Department, which has been conducted on independent lines, although in close association with the labour movement. The directors of the department wished to maintain their independence, and in consequence a compromise was reached by which the publicity side of the work is handed over to the Joint Council, while the purely research work is to be carried on for the present by the department on the old independent lines.

The Independent Labour Party.

At the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party at Southport at Easter the question of the international policy of the party was thrashed out. A determined but futile effort to secure adhesion to Moscow was made by the Communist section of the party. The delegates declared by 521 votes against 97 that the conditions of affiliation to the Third International were unacceptable, and following this it was announced by the Communists that they had decided to withdraw from the party.

The Chairman, Mr. R. C. Wallhead, had appeared to provoke this decision, on the ground that there was no room in the party for divided allegiance, and that members who could not accept the party programme should withdraw. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald spoke strongly against any policy of organising revolution by force.

International Labour Convention.

The second Convention organised by the International Labour Office under the terms of the Peace Treaty, was fixed for Geneva at the end of October, and the principal subjects on the agenda were the conditions of work in agriculture, the prevention of anthrax, the prevention of lead poisoning among painters, and the establishment of a weekly day of rest in all industries.

There was a tendency in labour circles to discount the value of the Conference, and this was partly due in Great Britain to the refusal of the Government to take steps to ratify by legislation the draft conventions adopted at the Washington Conference, in 1919, dealing with the eight-hour day and maternity protection for women.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION IN 1921.

THE Government deliberately restricted its legislative programme in 1921, with the object of avoiding an autumn session. To this end one or two highly controversial measures, particularly the Safeguarding of Industries Act, were rushed through their final stages, after interminable discussions in committees. This Act, and the Railways Act, were the principal measures of the year.

Safeguarding of Industries Act.

This Act, which was bitterly criticised by many commercial authorities, has for its title "An Act to impose duties of customs on certain goods with a view to the safeguarding of certain special industries in the United Kingdom against the effect of the depreciation of foreign currencies, and the disposal of imported goods at prices below the cost of production, and for purposes connected therewith."

The provisions are highly technical, and only the general effect can be indicated in a brief summary.

The first part of the Act deals with the importation of goods produced by the "special industries." A schedule sets forth the articles to be taxed; these are chiefly synthetic chemicals, including dyestuffs, optical glass and instruments, magnetos, hosiery latch needles, and the products of certain rare earth metals. The duty on these goods is fixed at one-third their value, but goods produced in the British Empire are exempt. Lists of articles falling under the general descriptions, and therefore subject to the duty, are to be issued from time to time by the Board of Trade.

The second part of the Act deals with the prevention of dumping. It authorises the Board of Trade to set up a committee to which shall be referred complaints in respect of imported goods which are alleged to be offered at prices less than the cost of production, or which by reason of depreciated currency are manufactured abroad at less cost than similar goods can be produced in the United Kingdom. Upon the reports of the committee the Board of Trade is given power to issue orders imposing import duties, but the power of veto of an order is retained by the House of Commons. The special duty in this case also is one-third the value of the goods, in addition to any other duties to which particular articles may be liable.

The procedure for constituting the committees is prescribed, and the meaning of "cost of production" is defined for the purpose of the Act.

Railways Act.

This complicated measure, with its schedules, fills 90 pages. It provides for the complete re-organisation and regulation of the railway service after cessation of war-time control, and lays down the procedure under which the various lines are to be amalgamated into four great territorial groups.

The first part deals with this reorganisation. It specifies the principal and subsidiary lines which are to constitute the four amalgamated groups—the Southern; Western; North-western, Midland, and West Scottish; and the North-eastern, Eastern, and East Scottish.

These lines are required to submit schemes for fusion before January 1st, 1923, and a tribunal is to be appointed to consider these schemes, which are to come into operation by July 1st, 1923, unless the tribunal, for exceptional reasons, permits an extension of time.

In connection with this plan of amalgamation the Act provides for the compounding of all claims for compensation for the war-time use of the railways by authorising the payment of a total sum of 60 million pounds to be divided among the companies.

The second part of the Act, dealing with the regulation of the lines, gives the Railway and Canal Commission considerable powers of regulation, with the object of securing an adequate service for the public. The companies may be required to "conform gradually to measures of general standardisation of ways, plant, and equipment," and to adopt schemes for the co-operative working or common user of rolling stock, workshops, plant, and other facilities.

A court styled the Railway Rates Tribunal is to be set up to regulate the fixing of charges, and this tribunal is to include three permanent full-time

members, one to be a commercial expert, one a railway expert, and one a lawyer. Other members of the tribunal are to be chosen from two panels—a general panel to consist of 36 persons, and a railway panel. The first will consist of 22 nominees of the Board of Trade, to represent trading interests, 12 nominees of the Minister of Labour after consultation with bodies representative of the interests of labour and passengers, and two representatives of agricultural and horticultural interests to be nominated by the Minister of Agriculture. The second panel will represent the railway managerial interests. The principal function of the tribunal will be to fix standard charges and to deal with objections and important complaints. Many pages are taken up by provisions laying down the principles on which rates and charges are to be fixed, and providing for exceptional circumstances.

Part IV. of the Act is of special interest to Labour. It deals with the wages and conditions of service, and creates a precedent by naming the trade unions which are entitled to representation on the Central Wages Board and the appeal tribunal known as the National Wages Board.

The representation is allocated as follows :—

Central Wages Board — National Union of Railwaymen, four members, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, two members, and the Railway Clerks' Association, two members. To the National Wages Board these unions send two members each. The companies have six members on the National Board, and in addition there are four representatives of the users of railways and an independent chairman. The four outside members are appointed (one each) by the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Union, the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, and the Federation of British Industries.

The Act further provides that a committee of 12, six representatives of the general managers and six appointed by the three unions, shall prepare schemes defining the functions of the boards.

Another part of the Act deals with the organisation and regulation of light railways.

Licensing Act, 1921.

This measure prescribes the conditions of sale of intoxicating liquor, upon the winding-up of the Central Control Board. It came into operation in September.

It limits the hours during which intoxicants may be sold in licensed premises or clubs, for consumption either on or off the premises, to eight per day, beginning not earlier than 11 in the morning and ending not later than 10 at night, with a break of at least two hours after 12 midday.

The exception is that in London the hours are nine instead of eight, and the closing hour at night may be 11. Outside London power is given to licensing justices to extend the closing hour to 10-30 if they think fit.

For Sundays, Christmas Day, and Good Friday the hours are five, but complete closing on Sundays is retained for Wales. In licensed premises and clubs the evening hours are extended by one hour in the case of liquor supplied for consumption of meals eaten on the premises, but drinking bars are to be closed during this hour.

The Act does not prohibit or restrict the supply of intoxicants to any person residing in a club or on licensed premises, or the ordering of liquor to be consumed off the premises, or the consumption of liquor with a meal within half an hour after the close of the permitted hours, provided it was supplied during permitted hours and served for consumption at the meal.

Intoxicants must be paid for as soon as supplied in licensed premises and clubs.

While the Act repeals generally the former legislation or orders under D.O.R.A. under which the Liquor Control Board acted, it provides for the continuance of various schemes of State management, such as the famous Carlisle experiment, initiated by the Control Board.

Industrial Assurance Act.

This Act regulates the conditions under which the business of industrial assurance (that is assurances in which the premiums are paid at intervals of less than two months, to collectors) is carried on. The Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies is charged with the duty of general supervision, and in relation to collecting societies he is to be known by the title of

the Inspector-General of Industrial Assurance.

The Act lays down the limits of expenditure of collecting societies, and also the payments to shareholders, and other provisions are made for the protection of the premium holders. Power is given to the Inspector-General to appoint officers to investigate the affairs of any collecting society, and this officer may require the production of all books and documents. He is also empowered to take evidence on oath from officers, agents, and other employees of the society.

It is provided that policies shall not be lapsed until adequate notice has been given in a prescribed form, and the Inspector-General has power of decision in respect to restoration of policies under certain conditions. Penalties for contraventions of the provisions of the Act are laid down.

INDUSTRY AND LABOUR ABROAD.

ALTHOUGH upheaval and turmoil was not so marked in industry abroad as in 1920, there were many strikes and much discontent caused by reductions in wages, as in Great Britain. The cause was the same, and in America and other countries growing unemployment, owing to trade depression, weakened the trade unions and made their resistance futile in the majority of instances.

America.

In some respects the American workers were affected more severely by the trade slump than British workers, but on the whole the standard of life of those who remained in employment was not reduced so much proportionately as that of, say, the miners and engineers in this country. There was no industrial struggle in America comparable to the miners' stoppage, and millions of workers accepted cuts in wages without resistance. This was chiefly due to the typically ruthless methods of the American employers in closing down plants to bring the workers to a subdued mood.

It was estimated at one period that no fewer than six million people were unemployed in the United States, and their condition was tragic in the extreme, as no State provision whatever was made for them, either in the shape of relief or insurance. In the autumn, however, a national conference was convened to consider the problem, and the provision of public work and the organisation of insurance was advocated.

The wage-cutting movement started earlier and more drastically in America than in Great Britain. In January textile workers were forced to accept a reduction of 22½ per cent, and steel workers were reduced by 10 to 20 per cent, and engineers also were cut 20 per cent. Railways reduced their staffs by 10 per cent as a preliminary to a demand for a heavy wage cut of 22½ per cent, amounting in the aggregate to a saving of over five million pounds a year in the labour cost. The extent of the slump may be gauged from the fact that in April there were 500 vessels of the mercantile marine idle.

Meanwhile the cost of living did not fall quickly, and in the early summer it was estimated that in order to live in modest fashion an American workman with wife and three children required nearly £10 a week.

During the spring and early summer the campaign against the trade unions, known as the open-shop movement, was carried on with great vigour; but public opinion proved to be less hostile to the unions than had been supposed, and the campaign gradually died down, as it was seen that wage cuts could be imposed without serious trouble.

France.

In France many of the trade unions, which had been seriously weakened by the futile attempt to organise a general strike in the previous year, were rendered still more impotent by internal quarrels on the question of affiliation to the Red Trade Union International. A rupture which seemed decisive took place at the June conference of the General Federation, but later on, in face of growing unemployment and demands of employers for wage reductions, there was a

greater disposition to find some basis of agreement between the two sections.

In some industries, notably the metal trades, trouble over wages was avoided by the adoption of a cost of living sliding scale, and the only dispute on a large scale took place in the early autumn in the textile centres. The operatives in the Lille and Roubaix area offered a determined resistance to the proposals of the employers, and a stage was reached at which other unions declared sympathetic strikes.

M. Briand, the Prime Minister, intervened, and arbitration was offered. A refusal led to the abandonment of the general strike, and following this a large number of the operatives expressed willingness to return to work. Under these circumstances, and with the employers remaining in a determined mood, successful resistance was impossible. Order was preserved in the area by the concentration of troops, artillery, and tanks.

Italy.

The development of the Fascisti movement in Italy during the year coincided with a steady cooling of revolutionary fervour among the workers, so that by the winter of 1921 a complete reversal of the position in the previous year had been witnessed. The workers' control movement had received shattering blows, and the aggressive wings of both the political and industrial side of the Socialist movement suffered a further setback owing to the growth of unemployment.

Although the activity of the Fascisti was directed mainly against the political Socialists, and especially against the Communists, the advanced trade unionists felt the effects of the movement severely. Labour halls and other meeting places, and also co-operative stores and institutes, were frequently attacked by young Fascisti bands who were heavily armed, and who refrained neither from killing nor from burning down the Labour headquarters.

The industrial control proposals of the Government, when they were published at the beginning of the year, turned out to be much less drastic than many people in other countries had expected. This was partly due to the fact that the Italian idea of control implies supervision or examination rather than direction and management, and also because less was offered by the Government than the left wing of the workers' organisations demanded.

A conference of employers and workers was appointed to try to work out details for control, and in the course of the discussions the representatives of the workers substantially abated their more extreme demands.

Then the whole position was suddenly changed by the initiation of a wage-reduction movement. At Turin a dispute developed at the Fiat works, where a control committee had been established during the turmoil of the previous year. The firm struck hard by locking out their 15,000 workers and closing down for some time. When the works were reopened with the men defeated the firm exercised discrimination in taking back the employees, and nearly all those who had played a leading part in the control movement were excluded.

Germany.

There were fewer industrial troubles in Germany than in any other European country, and this remarkable contrast with the preceding two years was explained by a state of despondency which settled down on the German workers after the futile risings of the Communists, and also by the belief that only by working, even at low wages in relation to the cost of living, could they be preserved from starvation. This feeling naturally reacted on the political side of the Labour and Socialist movement, and at the congress of the metal workers it was suggested that the opponents of the Moscow policy outnumbered its advocates by more than three to one. Notwithstanding many statements to the contrary, it was proved by careful investigation that the surface prosperity enjoyed by the great industrial firms—chiefly due to the advantage of the low exchange in exporting goods—did not extend to the workers, and that the mass of the industrial population and the middle-class brain workers continued to exist at a deplorably low standard.

Belgium.

Belgium, like Germany, was comparatively free from industrial troubles, and unemployment was less serious than in Great Britain or France. It was noted by visitors that the Belgian workers had

put their hearts into the task of reconstruction in the war areas. Most of the destroyed or partially destroyed towns and villages were virtually rebuilt by the end of the year, and this work of course, greatly stimulated the demand for all kinds of materials from bricks to metal fittings. There were disputes in the shipping and engineering trades, but these were settled without serious strife.

Miscellaneous.

In Vienna, where the constant depreciation of the exchange was accompanied by an increase in the cost of living, there were various disputes arising out of demands for higher wages. In January there were demonstrations against traders, hotels, and cafés, as a protest against the high prices, and the postal and other Government employees struck for increased wages. After several riotous episodes the Government made concessions.

In Norway and Sweden a futile shipping strike took place in resistance to wage-reduction demands, and in other industries in Sweden the workers were compelled, despite strong protests, to accept reductions.

In Spain the general labour situation continued turbulent and obscure. Upheavals, more or less serious, were frequent, and no agreements likely to lead to conditions of stability were arrived at.

The South African Mine Workers' Union organised a strike on the Rand in the early part of the year, but the employers declined firmly to concede the increase in wages asked for, and large numbers of members of the union were opposed to the strike, which consequently broke down.

In India, as in the preceding year, there were spasmodic industrial troubles usually connected in some way or other with the political ferment. A long strike of Calcutta tramway men, and a trek of thousands of labourers from the tea gardens in one district, were typical symptoms of a social disease which took various forms.

A considerable amount of industrial unrest existed in Japan during the year, but few details reached Europe. The cause was ascribed generally to the large absorption of national revenue by the military and naval expenditure of the Government, and the consequent lack of resources from which to meet the social needs of the people. Along with this state of affairs went the trade slump, which originated in these eastern markets in the preceding year. An indecisive struggle for the recognition of the trade unions was one of the features of the year, and one of the episodes was a lock-out of 30,000 dockyard workers at Kobe in July.

The Red Trade Union International.

The five conditions of affiliation to the Moscow Trade Union International which caused dissension and cleavages in many unions and federations in Europe, were laid down as follows at the conference in Moscow in July :—

1. Realisation, not only in words but in fact, of the class struggle.
2. Acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. Prohibition of the simultaneous adhesion to Moscow and Amsterdam.
4. Co-ordination of the action inside each country—action directed against the bourgeoisie.
5. Recognition of international proletarian discipline : that is to say, obligatory submission of national organisations to decisions taken by the international congress.

Losovsky, in submitting these conditions to the Moscow congress, urged that new organisations should not be formed, but that activity should be concentrated on the task of stimulating revolutionary spirit into existing unions.

NATIONAL LABOUR EVENTS.

(*For Diary of Coal Strike see page 289*).

JANUARY.

1. Increasing unemployment figures; percentage of trade unionists unemployed = 6·1 as compared with 3·7 the month before, also 446,000 workers registered as on short time.
1. National Union of Commercial Travellers' inaugural meeting.
3. Unemployed demonstrations; attempts to rush Islington Town Hall frustrated by the police.
5. Secondary Schools' Assistant Masters' Annual Conference.
7. Proposal for a special enquiry into the problem of unemployment by a Government committee announced as having broken down.
9. Unemployed in London break up a Labour meeting; Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P, shouted down.
11. Conference of London Guardians on unemployment.
11. Conference of National Federation of General Workers in London protests against any scheme requiring any separate trade or group of trades to be responsible for its own unemployed, and declaring for insurance for unemployment on the lines of collective risk for industry and trade generally. Short time with wage reductions also uncompromisingly opposed.
11. Joint Labour Conference rejects the amended terms of reference proposed by the Ministry of Labour, and again refuses to nominate representatives to the proposed Government Committee on unemployment. The conference appoints a committee of its own to devise schemes for the relief of the distress and for dealing with the general problem of unemployment with a view to the submission of such schemes to a special joint national conference of trade unions and the Labour party.
11. Manx 10 weeks' building strike settled by the employers conceding the men's demands of 2s. per hour.
12. Scheme for the amalgamation of Seamen's Unions announced as having broken down.
12. Ministerial embargo on Building Guild contracts until the terms of theGuild contracts are substantially revised.
12. National Union of Railwaymen's Executive declares that suspension of railway employees for refusal to work short time will not be countenanced.
13–19. Municipal workers' strike at Ilford.
14. Employment exchange registers show 927,000 persons unemployed as compared with 748,000 a fortnight before.
19. Conference of representatives of Government employees rejects Government proposals for the operation of short time in Government establishments.
21. Labour Ministry's figures show an increase of 67,236 persons unemployed during the week ending January 21st.
25. National Union of British Fishermen issues strike notices.
26. Miners' Federation Executive declines to agree to any proposals for decontrol in the absence of an agreed plan for the National control of the mining industry.
27. Labour Conference on unemployment.
27–28. Amalgamated Engineering Union Conference on Wage Claim.
28. Employment Exchanges registers record 1,059,800 unemployed, apart from short-time workers.

FEBRUARY.

1. National Federation of Law Clerks' annual meeting.
3–4. N.U.R. adjourned annual meeting.
4. Building Operatives' Federation ballot records the rejection of the Governments' dilution proposal by 310,000 to 2,500.
4. Labour Exchange registers record 1,108,000 unemployed as compared with 1,065,320 the week before.
4–5. National Federation of Professional Technical Administrative and Supervisory Workers' first annual conference.
4. Joint Labour Committee issues second interim report on the causes of the high cost of living.
9. Locomotive Engineers' and Firemen's Society's Executive sends out notices to members of the Union to hold themselves in readiness for a strike if the Government refuses to concede (1) The holding of an enquiry into the shootings of two railway employees and the wounding of others, at Mallow Station (Co. Cork) by Black and Tans; (2) Guarantees for the safety of the Union's members in Ireland.
10. Agricultural Wages Board in London turns down the demand of an all-round increase of 4s. per week on the minimum wage of agricultural workers.
14. J. R. Clynes, M.P., appointed Leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons in place of W. Adamson.
16. Commons debate on unemployment.
17. Labour amendment to the Address in the House of Commons defeated by 262 votes to 84. The amendment expressed regret at no mention of legislation recognising the right of the unemployed to work, or adequate maintenance.
18. Unemployment registers show 1,169,400 persons unemployed against 1,148,883 the previous week.
22. Miners' Federation Delegate Conference on wages and unemployment.

23. Joint Labour Conference on unemployment in London condemns the Government's extension of the Unemployed Insurance Act as lamentably inadequate to meet the situation and demands a restoration of international trade, the organisation of national schemes of work, and the provision of maintenance of unemployment.
24. In response to pressure the Government concedes small increases of the unemployed maintenance scale, making the amount 20s. a week for men and 16s. per week for women.
25. Labour Exchange registers record 1,183,133 unemployed as compared with 1,223,000 the week previous.
28. Secretary for Mines, in the House of Commons, announces that miners' wages are to be reduced.

MARCH.

2–3. Building operatives conference on dilution.
2. Labour defeat at Woolwich announced. J. R. Macdonald beaten by 683 votes.
3. Labour victory in Dudley. Labour candidate, J. Wilson, wins the by-election by 276 votes.
4. Labour Exchange registers record 1,254,100 unemployed, an increase of 35,882 on the previous week's figures.
6. Labour gain at Kirkcaldy. Labour candidate, T. Kennedy, wins the seat by 1,475 votes.
7. Issue of the report of the Tramway Court of Inquiry *re* application of the tramway employees for a wage advance of 12s. per week. The Court, *inter alia*, declares for the maintenance of present wage as standard until December 21, 1921.
7. Labour gain at Penistone. W. Gillies (Labour) wins the seat by 576 votes.
9. Annual Conference of National Union of Ships' Stewards, &c.
10. President of the Miners' Federation (Robt. Smillie) resigns office on the ground of ill health.
10. Miners' conference on wages and profits.
10. Labour Exchange registers record 1,315,200 persons unemployed—an increase of 60,523 on the previous week.
12. Lock-out of 30,000 vehicle builders.
12–13. National Guilds League Annual Conference.
16. National Union of Journalists secures enhanced wage scale for its members both in London and the provinces.
18. Unemployment exchange registers record 1,375,400 unemployed, as compared with 1,318,114 for the previous week.
24. Labour Exchange registers record 1,408,800 unemployed, compared with 1,373,278 on March 18th.

EASTER WEEK-END. Shop Assistants' Union, National Union of Distributive Workers', National Union of Journalists', National Union of Teachers', I.L.P., &c., &c. Conferences.

28. The I.L.P. Conference at Southport decides by 521 card votes to 97 not to affiliate with the Third International; Communist section afterwards secedes from the party.

APRIL.

8. Labour Exchanges record 1,614,993 unemployed, as against 1,506,080 the week before; also 897,053 workers on short time.
15. Labour Exchanges record 1,686,900 unemployed—an increase of over 71,000 during the week; short-time payments 934,000, as against 897,000 the week before.
19. Shipyard conference agree on wage reduction.
21. Scottish Trade Union Congress at Aberdeen.
22. Labour Exchange registers record number of unemployed as 1,774,400—an increase of over 81,000 during the week.
25. Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain in Manchester.
27. Engineers decide to resist wage reduction.
27. National conference of Labour women opens in Manchester.
27–28. Agricultural Workers' Conference. Decision to resist longer hours.
29. Labour Exchange records give number of unemployed as 1,865,800 persons—an increase over the previous week's figures of over 89,000. Short-time claimants number 1,074,600, as against 1,028,000 on April 22nd.

MAY.

1. LABOUR DAY.
4. Railway agreement on wages regulation.
4. Sailors and firemen accept wage reduction.
6. Building Operatives' Federation agree to wage reductions.
6. Labour Exchange registers record 1,920,500 unemployed—an increase on the previous week of over 66,000.
7. Communist party offices in London raided by police and secretary arrested.
7. Master Cotton Spinners move for a 95 per cent reduction of wages.
8. Unofficial strike of labourers, cooks, stewards, seamen, and firemen at Glasgow harbour against a reduction of wages.
10. Ships' stewards strike at Liverpool; eleven liners affected. In the Port of London 2,000 members of the National Union of Ships' Stewards, Cooks, Butchers, and Bakers out on strike against wage reduction.
10–13. Annual Conference of Post Office Workers' Union.
12. Communist party organiser (R. Stewart) sent to gaol for three months with hard labour by the magistrates at Abercynon, on the charge of delivering a speech likely to cause sedition among the civil population.

12. Engineering Unions reject wage reductions.
13. Labour Exchange records show number of unemployed as 1,990,700, as compared with 1,927,062 the previous week; short-time claimants number 1,129,400, as compared with 1,095,999 on May 6th.

16–18. Co-operative Congress at Scarborough.

17. Two prominent Glasgow socialists (J. McClean and A. Ross) each sentenced to three months' imprisonment on a charge of making seditious speeches.
20. 2,070,100 unemployed shown on Labour Exchange registers, in addition to 1,124,034 workers on short time.
20. Two Communists sent to gaol for six weeks with hard labour on a charge of sedition.
20. Second police raid on Communist League premises.
20. United Vehicle Workers decide in favour of amalgamation with a new Union to be called the Transport and General Workers' Union, which will have a membership of over 400,000.

WHITSUNTIDE CONFERENCES. National Union of Clerks, National Union of Corporation Workers, Local Government Workers, National Union of Women Teachers, National Association of Schoolmasters, National Union of Commercial Teachers, National Association of Head Teachers, Electrical Trades Union, Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, Church Socialist League, Railway Clerks' Association, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, United Vehicle Workers.

25. Annual conference at Bournemouth of the Railway Clerks' Association rejects motion for fusion with other railwaymen's unions, and declares for a cordiale entente in all matters affecting railway employees, reserving absolute autonomy for each separate organisation.
26. Annual meeting of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades' Federation.
30. National Labour Press fined in Salford Police Court for printing and publishing an alleged seditious leaflet entitled "A Call to Action."

JUNE.

2. Life Assurance Workers' annual meeting.
3. Breakdown in negotiations in cotton dispute.
4. Stoppage of work in the Lancashire cotton mills; nearly half a million operatives affected.
4. Breakdown in the negotiations in the engineering dispute.
6. Conference of representatives of engineering employers and men opens at the invitation of the Ministry of Labour.
6. Typographical Association Triennial Conference.
7. Government decision to abolish Agricultural Wages Boards.
7. Industrial Council for the Wool Textile industry fails to reach an agreement on wage matters.
8. Minister of Labour brings forward a Bill for the reduction of benefits under unemployment insurance from July 4th next.
9. Labour wins seat at Heywood.
9. Transport Workers' Federation annual conference.
10. Further conference in the cotton dispute.
12. Trade Union Guild Council formed.

14–15–16. Women's Co-operative Guild Congress held in Manchester.

15. Joint negotiation committee in the cotton wages dispute agrees to a reduction of wages by 60 per cent on piece price list, with a further reduction of 10 per cent in six months.
17. Employment Exchange register records 2,180,000 persons unemployed, as compared with 2,178,294 on June 10th; also 999,832 on short time, as against 867,000 the week previous.
22. Labour Party Conference at Brighton rejects the move for the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.
23. Operative Spinners' Amalgamation and Weavers' Amalgamation accept employers' terms of reduction of 70 per cent on standard piece price list rates, 60 per cent at once and a further 10 per cent at the end of six months.
24. Cotton wages agreement officially ratified by negotiating committee of officials and operatives.
29. Engineering trade ballot shows 257,532 against acceptance of employers' terms and 125,014 for acceptance — majority against, 132,018.
29. Provisional agreement on wage reductions in the engineering trade by trade unions and employers' representatives; total reductions amount to 6s., plus 27½ per cent at successive dates.

JULY.

1. Employment Exchange register records 2,168,727 unemployed—a fall of 9,172 from the week before.
1. Iron and Steel Trades' Conference on wages.
4. Joint conference of Agricultural Labourers' Union and agricultural section of Workers' Union with regard to wage reduction.

4–9. National Union of Railwaymen's Conference at Newcastle endorses the action of the Executive and of J. H. Thomas, M.P., in calling off the strike decided on for April 15th in support of the miners.

5. Civil Service Union annual meeting.
8. Labour Exchange registers record number of unemployed 2,120,201—a decrease of 50,100 on the previous week.
12. National Union of Dockers annual meeting.

12–13. Operative Printers' annual meeting.

13. Result of ballot *re* proposed wage reduction declared in the engineering trade; provisional agreement for acceptance, 175,145, against 108,969, majority for acceptance 66,176.
13. Shipyard joiners reject proposal on wage reduction.
14. Annual conference of the General Federation of Trade Unions opens at Bangor, North Wales.
15. Labour Exchange registers show 2,020,300 unemployed—a decrease of 102,000 upon the previous week.
19. Provisional Joint Committee of National Industrial Conference dissolved.
20. Meeting of the Central Committee of the Mining Association and the Executive of the Miners' Federation to establish a new National Wages Board.
20. Dockers' agreement on wage reductions.
21. Annual general meeting of South Wales Miners' Federation.
25. United Textile Factory Workers' Association Conference opens at Blackpool.
27. Death of James Winstone, South Wales Miners' leader.
28–29. Labour Party Conference on land policy.
31. Annual meeting of Social Democratic Federation.

AUGUST.

1–4. Irish Trades Union Congress in Dublin.
1. Social Democratic Federation Conference at Stratford adopts resolution urging members to give the Co-operative movement practical support.
2. Decision of Sailors' and Firemen's Union to withdraw from Transport Workers' Federation.
2. Scottish Unions vote against affiliation to Red Trade Union International.
2. Scottish Dock Labourers' Union annual meeting.
12 National Union of Scottish Mine Workers' annual meeting.
14. Death of Tyson Wilson, M.P. for Westhoughton division.
15. Operative Bakers' and Confectioners' annual meeting.
17. National Federation of General Workers' annual meeting.
17. Miners' Federation annual conference.
17. National Federation of Building Trades Operatives' annual conference.
17. Shipyard joiners' strike settled.
19. Labour Exchange registers record 1,640,600 persons unemployed, as compared with 1,686,919 the week before.
23. Chemical employers and employed conference on wages reduction breaks down.
23. Agricultural Wages Board confirms proposed reduction of wages, the reduction to come into operation on September 1st.
26. Morgan Jones elected Labour M.P. for Caerphilly.
26. Wage dispute settled in chemical trade.
29. Railway Shopmen's annual conference.
29. Annual conference of the Municipal Employees' Association opens in London.
29–30. Lightning strike of Irish railwaymen on Dublin and South-Eastern Railway, as a protest against the increase of working hours from 8 to 10.
30. End of strike in the salt trade, the men agreeing to resume work on modified terms.
31. Procession of unemployed march to interview the local guardians in three London boroughs—Shoreditch, Holborn, and Hackney.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Mayor of Poplar imprisoned together with a band of town councillors in consequence of their refusal to levy rates for outside authorities.
1. Huge demonstrations of unemployed to Woolwich and St. Pancras Boards of Guardians. The Mayor of Poplar and eight councillors taken to gaol.
5–10. Trade Union Congress held at Cardiff.
6. Five more Poplar councillors arrested.
6. Strike of Cork dockmen settled by agreement of arbitration.
6. Unemployed demonstrations in various towns.
6. Disturbances at Dundee; shops looted in frays with police.
7. Committee on Unemployment appointed by the Government.
9. Sunderland unemployed demonstration batoned by police.
12. No-rent strike begun at Shoreditch (London).
17. Disturbance at Liverpool in connection with unemployed demonstration.
21. Joint Committee of Labour Party and Trades Union Congress call for the summoning of Parliament to deal with the problem of unemployment.
21. Committee on Trade Boards appointed by the Government.
25. Annual Conference of Scottish Labour Party.
27. Annual Meeting of National Sailors' and Firemen's Union.

OCTOBER.

4. London unemployed demonstration dispersed by police in Trafalgar Square.
6. Labour deputation interviews the Prime Minister with regard to the unemployment problem.
7. At a meeting of the General Council of Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party, it is decided to hold aloof from any unemployment committee appointed by the Coalition Government.
11. Labour representatives place proposals for the relief of unemployment before the Prime Minister.
12. Poplar Borough Councillors released from imprisonment.
13. London unemployed demonstration batoned by police.
19. Government's plan for the relief of unemployment announced by the Premier.

DIARY OF THE COAL STRIKE.

JANUARY.

26. Miners' Federation executive declines to agree to any proposals for decontrol in the absence of an agreed plan for the national control of the mining industry.

FEBRUARY.

22. Miners' Federation delegate conference on wages and unemployment.
28. Secretary for Mines, in the House of Commons, announces that wages are to be reduced.

MARCH.

10. Miners' conference on wages and profits.
24. Mines Decontrol Bill receives Royal Assent.
25. Coal crisis ; Miners' Federation rejects the proposals of the owners for the settlement of wages by district vote.
31. Coal industry decontrolled. Great national mining strike begins. The Government proclaims a state of emergency under the Emergency Powers Act of the last session.

APRIL.

4. Government promulgates emergency regulations.
5. House of Commons debate on the coal stoppage. The leader of the Labour Party (Mr. J. R. Clynes) appeals to the Prime Minister to endeavour to bring the parties together once more. The Premier lays down two conditions of Government intervention :
   (1) No maintenance of the industry out of general taxation.
   (2) No renewal of control.
6. Premier invites owners and miners to reopen negotiations, with the proviso that the men shall see to the safety of the pits, Miners' executive agree to resume negotiations, but object to proviso. Coal owners declare their readiness to resume negotiations, assuming that the miners will see to the preservation of the safety of the pits.
7. The Premier declares the Government's readiness to call a joint conference without conditions, providing that the question of safety men shall be the first subject discussed.
8. The Miners' executive rejects the Premier's offer and declares for a conference without conditions.
8. Triple Alliance strike decided on by the executive of the Transport Workers' Federation and the delegates of the National Union of Railwaymen. The Premier announces Government measures to be taken calling up of the army, navy, and air force reservists, the enlistment of volunteers to maintain food transport services, the enrolment of special police, and the enlistment of volunteers to form a defence force to insist on keeping order.
8. On the appeal of the Miners' Federation against decisions refusing out of work pay for the miners in the stoppage, the Umpire (Mr. Yates of the Ministry of Labour) declares stoppage of work to be due to a trade dispute and says the miners are not entitled to out of work pay.
9. Miners' executive compromise on the pumpmen question, and agrees to issue instructions to offer no interference with the safety work in the mines.
11. Joint conference of Miners' representatives, coal owners, and Government begins at the Board of Trade.
12. Miners' leaders reject the settlement proposals made by the Government, viz. :—
   (1) No national profits pool.
   (2) National wages settlement on the district standard basis.
   (3) Temporary financial aid for hard-hit districts after fixing of wages rates.
12. Railwaymen and Transport Workers' executives postpone strike previously fixed to begin at midnight on April 12th.
13. Resumed Triple Alliance conference. Transport Workers and Railwaymen's executives unanimously decide to strike at 10 o'clock the 15th April in support of the miners.
13. Locomotive Engineers and Firemen decide to join strike.
13. Railway Clerks' executive recommend their Union members to strike.
14. Trades Union Congress, Labour Party, and Parliamentary Labour Party pledge to support strike.
14. Mr. Frank Hodges (Sec. Miners' Federation) in addressing group of Coalition M.P.'s in the House of Commons by invitation states that "We are prepared to consider wages provided they are not to be regarded as permanently on a district basis but only of a temporary character."
15. The Premier renews the invitation to a joint conference, which invitation is rejected by the miners' executive, which declares that there can be no discussion of wages unless the owners agree to a national wages board and a national pool.
15. BLACK FRIDAY. The Railwaymen and Transport Workers' executives call off the strike fixed for 10 o'clock on this date.
18. Government announcement that 75,000 Reservists had been called up, and that the cost to the country of the Government's emergency action amounts to nearly £1,000,000 per week.
22. Transport Workers' Federation executive issues instructions to members to refuse to handle coal imported from abroad. The executive of the N.U.R. also takes similar action.

22. Miners' Delegate Conference passes a resolution of confidence in Mr. Frank Hodges and the executive, and also protests against the official report of the other two parties to the Triple Alliance attributing their failure to take action to the miners' refusal to meet the coal owners at the Board of Trade. The conference receives an invitation from the Premier to meet the coal owners.
25. Miners' executive again enters into conference with the coal owners and the representatives of the Government.
27. The Government representative (Sir Robert Horne) makes new proposals for a temporary agreement, the proposals being as follows :—
    A Government subsidy up to £10,000,000. Coalowners to forego all profits for four months, and the establishment of a national board to fix area wages on basis of ability to pay.
28. The miners' national delegate conference rejects Government's proposals as failing to concede the fundamental principles of a national wages board and a national pool.

MAY.

4. The reduction of passenger trains brought up to 50 per cent.
4. Government Mines Department issues new orders restricting the use of power for trams and light railways to 75 per cent of the average daily quantity used in the week ended April 9th, 1921, and reducing the consumption of gas and electricity for streets and public lighting to 25 per cent of the quantity used on the corresponding date in 1920 in townships or boroughs with a population of 5,000 and upwards and discontinued in the case of other districts.
4. Members of the Miners' Federation support the national executive in refusing the Government's offer.
6. Strike of dock labourers at Glasgow to enforce the coal embargo.
9. Grimsby dockers refuse to unload a cargo of coal from Hamburg. Scottish dockers executive also instruct their secretary to ask the transport workers' executive to call a general strike.
11. Members of the Gas Workers' Union, National Union of Enginemen and Firemen, and Electric Trades Union also refuse to handle coal discharged by blackleg labour.
11. Government Mines Department issues instructions to local authorities to discontinue the use of coal for heating swimming baths and to restrict private baths in public bath premises to one day a week.
12. The executive of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen resolve to instruct members of the Union to refuse to handle coal imported from other countries when their attention is drawn to the fact by railwaymen who also refuse to handle such traffic, members not to work with blackleg labour in any circumstances.
13. Another coal crisis debate in the House of Commons.
13. N.U.R. executive resolves that members of the Union are not to handle imported coal, no matter for what purpose such coal is intended, and are not to handle coal of any description which has been loaded or handled by blackleg labour.
13. Joint meetings of the executives of the N.U.R. and Transport Workers' Federation agree to urge the Dutch and French transport workers to give the fullest possible effect to the blockade on coal for England, in accordance with the resolution passed at the Geneva Congress held by the International Transport Federation.
13. The executive of the Belgian Transport Workers' Federation instructs the members of the Union at all Belgian ports not to load coal for England.
16. Belgian dockers decide to resume work in view of the passive attitude of the Dutch and French dockers towards the British Labour appeals to boycott coal destined to Great Britain.
17. Mass meeting of Glasgow dockers unanimously resolves to remain on strike.
18. Board of Trade Journal announces that the Government have arranged to import coal to meet the essential needs of the country, and that arrangements have been made with four firms who are acting as Government agents and who have been given instructions that they are to dispose of the coal only to consumers who are on the priority list, *i.e.*, railways, public utility works, domestic and household purposes, food producing and preserving concerns.
20. Strike of 1,000 dockers in port of Leith as a protest against 12 volunteers handling a cargo of Belgian coal.
20. Over 2,000 non-union men working in Princess Dock, Glasgow, under police and military protection.
22. Conference of Scotch Railwaymen's delegates held in Glasgow declares that the time has arrived when members should refuse to handle all traffic going to or coming from Glasgow Docks and requests all branch secretaries to instruct their members accordingly.
24. Shropshire miners to the number of 600 return to work in consequence of a threat that the pits would be closed unless the men returned to work.
25. Glasgow dock labourers decide to resume work on certain conditions including the reinstatement of all strikers.
27. Resumption of coal negotiations at the invitation of the Prime Minister who, at a joint conference held at the Board of Trade, proposes a settlement on terms rather less favourable than before, inasmuch as Government aid to the extent of £10,000,000 is to be conditional upon an arrival at a permanent settlement.

29. The Prime Minister outlines the Government's proposal for making the agreement permanent. Proposal includes a national wages board with a neutral chairman, a tribunal of three persons, or a single arbitrator.
30. Grave misunderstanding in coal dispute. At the meeting of the miners' executive the Premier was understood to threaten legislation for compulsory arbitration in the event of the dispute not being settled. Mr. Lloyd George denies having used the words compulsory arbitration.
31. Executive committees of Transport Workers and N.U.R. remove the embargo on coal and instruct members to handle all coal.

JUNE.

2. House of Commons, on the motion of the Home Secretary, passes resolution to provide that the regulations made by order in Council under the Emergency Powers Act should continue in force.
3. Abortive conference of colliery employers and miners' representatives.
6. Direct conference between owners and miners' leaders takes place.
17. Miners' ballot shows 183,827 for acceptance of owners' terms and 432,511 against. Majority against 248,684.
27. Resumption of negotiations between the Coal Owners' Council and the Miners' Executive.
28. Coal peace terms agreed on between representatives of employers and miners; wages to be reduced in instalments to 3s. a shift; the standard minimum to be 20 per cent above 1914 wages, standard profit to employers of 17 per cent on agreed amount of wages, surplus profit to be divided in proportion of 17 per cent to the owners and 83 per cent to the men, agreement to last till December, 1922. Government agrees to subsidise wages up to £10,000,000.

JULY.

1. Miners' ballot by 832,840 votes to 105,820 ratifies the terms of settlement agreed to by their representatives; pits to reopen on Monday, July 4th, 1921. The House of Commons agrees to the £10,000,000 subsidy without discussion.

DO THESE DOLES DEMORALISE?

THOSE who raise their hands in pious horror at the demoralising effect of the unemployment insurance benefit — for which the recipients have contributed — will be interested in the following list of doles.

It is taken from the return of the finance accounts of the United Kingdom for 1920-21.

EX-LORD CHANCELLORS.	
Earl Halsbury	£5,000
Viscount Haldane	5,000
Lord Buckmaster	5,000
Earl Loreburn	2,500
EX-LORD OF APPEAL.	
Lord Lindley	3,750
RETIRED JUDGES.	
Lord Wrenbury	3,500
Lord Phillimore	3,500
Sir A. Charles	3,500
Viscount Mersey	3,500
Sir A. Channell	3,500
Sir M. Joyce	3,500
Sir E. Ridley	3,500
Lord Cozens Hardy (late)	1,699
Sir Henry Sutton	1,403
Ten former County Court Judges	10,000
Smaller sums to seven others	4,078
Total	£62,930

The only pensions for political and civil services paid during 1920-21 were :—

Lord George Hamilton	£2,000
Lord Chaplin	1,200
Lord Balfour of Burleigh, since died	1,200
Sir C. L. Ryan (late)	1,166
	£5,566

Pensions for naval and military services included :—

Earl Nelson	£5,000
Viscount Hardinge	3,000
Lord Seaton	2,000
Lord Raglan	2,000
Lord Napier of Magdala	2,000
Lord Rodney	1,000
Corisande, Baroness Rodney	1,000
	£16,000

Thus 42 persons—many of whom have a considerable income apart from their "dole"—draw £84,496 a year.

This exceeds the amount of unemployment insurance money paid to 4,332 unemployed men who are in benefit for six months in the year.—*The Labour News.*

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR EVENTS.

JANUARY.

3. France: Unemployment crisis engages the attention of the Government.
6. India: Agrarian riots in the United Provinces reported; troops sent to districts affected; several hundred arrests made.
11. France: Domestics in Paris form a trade union in touch with the Confederation of Labour.
12. India: Lightning strike at the Koh-i-noor Mills, Bombay; disturbance and 49 arrests.
12. Austria: Socialist postal employees strike successfully terminates; Government concedes all demands.
17. United States: Announcement of 2,000,000 unemployed in the United States.
20. Italy: Split in Italian Socialist Party at Leghorn Congress; Communist section defeated on the question of relations with the Moscow International, and quit the party.
13. France: Correctional Court orders the dissolution of the general Confederation of Labour on the ground of its being an unauthorised association, and gives instructions for its property to be liquidated.
20. India: Strike of taxi drivers in Calcutta in progress.
21. Germany: German Government reports 800,000 unemployed, in addition to 2,000,000 workers on short time and on short pay.
21. India: Famine and distress in Central Provinces; 100,000 persons on relief.
23. India: Another Agrarian riot in the Rae Bareli district (United Provinces); collision with the police, and ringleaders of the riot arrested.
24. India: More Agrarian demonstrations and riots in the Fyzabad district; 200 arrests and troops dispatched from Lucknow.
30. France: Police raids on Communists.
31. British Bureau of International Trade Union Council (Communist) formed.
31. United States: President Wilson rejects the recommendations of the American Attorney General to commute the sentence on Eugene Debs, who was sent to prison for alleged seditious utterances during the war.
31. Egypt: Workers' contributions to trade unions forbidden by decree.

FEBRUARY.

10. France: National Committee of the General Confederation of Labour, by 82 votes to 31, decides to exclude from the Federation, organisations adhering to the Moscow International.
11. India: Strike of several thousands of railway workmen in the Bombay-Baroda and Central India Railway workshops for increased pay.
14. India: Strike of 3,000 workmen in the workshops of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.
20–27. Austria: International Socialist Conference at Vienna.
24. Australia: Australian shipping strike terminates.

MARCH.

3. Italy: Italian Confederation of Labour declares in favour of Third International.
15. Luxembourg: Workers' Council suppressed by French troops.
18. Russia: Communist Party's 10th Congress.

APRIL.

14. Spain: Spanish Socialist Party declares against Third International by 8,808 to 6,025 votes.
24. Belgium: Socialists at municipal elections gain a majority in 218 communes, as compared with 36 formerly.
26. Italy: Chamber of Labour at Turin burned by Fascisti.

MAY.

1. United States: Strike of seamen against 15 per cent wage reduction.
8. Norway: Seamen's strike against wage reductions.
13. Belgium: Senate passes the Bill for an eight-hour day and a 48-hour week; Bill to come into force on October 1st.
15. Italy: General election.
15. Czecho-Slovakia: Left Wing Socialists join the Third International.
18. Russia: Fourth All Russia Trades Union Congress.
26. Norway: General strike proclaimed.
26. Russia: Communist Party Conference.
27. England: Labour in House of Commons denounces the Government for not having yet submitted to Parliament certain conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference in Washington.
29. France: Police raids on Paris Socialists.
30. Belgium Labour Party Left Wing joins the Third International.

JUNE.

3. France: Railwaymen's Congress votes for affiliation to the Red Trade Union International.
3. Denmark: Agricultural Workers' strike.
4. Norway: Shipping strike in Norway continues as a result of another breakdown in the negotiations for a settlement.
8. Norway: General strike called off.
13. United States: Congress at Denver of American Federation of Labour.

23. Russia: Third Congress of Communist International opens at Moscow.

25. United States of America: Denver Congress re-elects Mr. S. Gompers as President of the American Federation of Labour.

JULY.

3. Italy: Railwaymen's conference opens at Bologna.

3–21. Russia: First Congress of Red Trade Union International opens at Moscow.

25. France: Resumption of work in the textile factories at a wage reduction of 30 centimes an hour.

25. France: Annual Congress of Confédération Générale du Travail opens at Lille. The Congress subsequently passes vote of Confidence in the Executive by 1,556 votes to 1,348.

AUGUST.

1. Rumania: Trades unions dissolved.

1. Jugo-Slavia: Legislation against Socialist and Labour organisations.

4. International Miners' Committee determines on close relations for international action.

8. Congress of International Metal Workers held at Lucerne.

11. France: Munition workers' strike at Roubaix.

15. International Federation of Trades Unions meets at Berlin to discuss the famine in Russia.

19. France: Great strike of textile workers in Northern France extended against proposed wage reduction.

22. France: Transport workers at Roubaix go on strike.

22. Germany: German Communist Congress at Jena.

29. India: Strikes in Madras. Conflict between strikers and police; six people killed and 30 wounded.

SEPTEMBER.

1. United States: Desperate battle between miners and police in West Virginia; 200 miners reported killed.

3. India: Looting of grainshops in Meerut as a result of high prices of foodstuffs.

5. United States: Number of unemployed estimated at 6,000,000 by the President of the American Federation of Labour (S. Gompers).

5—8. International Congress of Printers held at Vienna.

12. German Communist Labour Party leaves the Third International.

18. German Majority Socialist Congress opens at Görlitz.

19. Strike of railwaymen in Vienna.

OCTOBER.

1. Belgium: Eight-hour day law comes into force.

2. Germany: Strike of hotel employees against increase of hours and reduction of wages.

10. Italian Socialist Conference opens at Milan.

17. International Congress of Working Women opens at Geneva.

25. Third International Labour Conference held at Geneva.

THE RUSSIAN FAMINE.

THE extent of the Russian famine may be gauged from the following particulars given in "Russian Information and Review":—

Although the most important regions affected by the drought and the consequent famine are in the Volga area, the calamity has spread over a much greater territory of Soviet Russia. In addition to the Nizhni-Novgorod, Ekaterinburg, Perm and Penza provinces, the Don area, the North Caucasus, and part of the Ukraine, have also suffered considerably. Out of 99,867,000 acres of land under cultivation, with a population of 89,137,000 persons in European and Asiatic Russia, there was a complete or partial failure of crops in 32,000,000 acres, affecting 25,889,000 persons. If we include the parts of the Ukraine which were affected by the famine, the total is as much as 56,000,000 acres of land with a population of 37,210,000. About 40 per cent of the whole area under cultivation and 33 per cent of the total population are affected by the famine conditions.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS—(GENERAL).

JANUARY.

3. India: Responsible government under the Montague scheme constituted.
8. India: Indian National Congress at Nagpur declares in favour of the scheme of non-co-operators.
10. First birthday of League of Nations.
12. France: Fall of Cabinet. Ministry of M. Leygues dismissed by 463 votes to 125.
12. India: First of Legislative Councils in India (under new reform scheme) opened in Madras.
15. India: Students' strike in Calcutta in support of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation campaign.
16. France: New Ministry formed with M. Briand as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.
22. United States: J. D. Rockefeller, junr., contributes 1,000,000 dollars for the relief of the starving children of Europe.
24. Allied conference opens in Paris to discuss the question of military guarantees and the disarmament of the "illegal" armies in Germany, &c.
29. Allied Council agree on Reparation terms for Germany. Germany to pay a sum of £10,550,000 spread over a period of 42 years, plus a 12 per cent ad valorem tax on German imports for the same period.
31. France: Government raids on Communistic aliens in progress, numerous arrests.

FEBRUARY.

2. Germany: Reichstag debate on reparation demands. Demands denounced by all parties.
4. Greece: Cabinet crisis, resignation of Prime Minister, M. Gounaris.
6. Greece: New Cabinet formed with M. Calogeropoulos as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.
9. South Africa: South African elections. The elections give General Smuts' party a majority of 22 over other party.
10. Germany: Bavaria agrees to disarmament at last.
Peace treaty between Poland and Russia signed.
12. Burma: The legislative council of Burma passes resolution demanding reforms on a par with those in India, also a resolution demanding votes for women passed.
12. Russia in Asia: Opening of the assembly of the new Far Eastern Republic.
12. India: Revolution of the native State of Tonk, Rajputana.
21. London Conference of the Allies with representatives of former enemy countries begins.
21. Germany: Prussian election results, Majority Socialists 113 representatives, as compared with 142 in the old constituent National Assembly.
21. South Africa: Senate election results declared. South African Party gain a majority of 2 over nationalists and labour combined.
26. Russia and Persia: Treaty signed between the two countries.
28. Germany: German delegation to the Reparations Conference arrive in London.
28. Russia and Afghanistan: Treaty signed between the two countries.
28. Russia: Reported workmen's risings in Moscow and Petrograd.

MARCH.

1. Germany: German reparation counter proposals rejected.
3. Germany: Allies ultimatum to Germany. Ultimatum including threats to occupy the towns of Duisburg, Ruhrort, and Dusseldorf, and other penalties, &c. Germany allowed until the 7th.
4. United States: W. G. Harding, new President, installed in office, in his inaugural address declares that America does not mean to be entangled in old-world affairs.
4. England: Manchester Chamber of Commerce condemns the British Government and the Government of India for imposing an additional 3½ per cent import duty (making 11 per cent in all) on cotton goods going into India.
5. United States: Government sends an ultimatum to Panama and Costa Rica demanding the immediate cessation of hostilities.
6. Germany: New German proposal rejected by allied representatives.
7. Germany: Allied troops in Germany receive orders to occupy further territory.
8. Germany: British, French, and Belgian troops occupy Dusseldorf, Duisburg, Ruhrort.
8. Spain: Spanish Prime Minister (Senator Dato) assassinated.
12. Turkey: Allies present new proposals to Turkey with a view to the establishment of peace in the near East.
15. Turkey: Turkish ex-Premier (Talaat Pasha) assassinated in Berlin.
16. Russia: Russian Trade Agreement signed by Sir Robt. Horne on behalf of the British Government, and Mr. Krassin on behalf of the Soviet Government.
17. Austria: Allied agreement as regards Austria, postponement of Allied Treaty claims, scheme of credits propounded and Austrian assets proposed to come under league control.
17–25. India: British convoys raided on the frontier.
18. Germany: The German Reparation (Recovery) Bill read a third time.
18. Peace Treaty between the two countries, Russia and Poland, signed in Riga.
20. Upper Silesia: Plebiscite in Upper Silesia.

22–27. Germany : Communist disturbances in Hamburg, Central Germany and elsewhere in progress.
23. Asia-Minor. Another Greek offensive begins and proves a failure.
24. Germany : German business and industrial organisations recommend to their members a boycott of British, French, and Belgium goods to counteract the 50 per cent expropriation of German credits.
25. China : Famine and pestilence in various provinces in progress, great mortality.
27. Ex-Emperor Charles of Austria arrives in Budapest and meets with a cool reception, and ultimately leaves Hungary again.
31. Germany : Communist rising suppressed.

APRIL.

2. India : New Viceroy of India, Lord Reading, receives his warrant of office.
7. Hungary : Fall of Hungarian Government. Count Teleky resigns and subsequently resumes office.
11. Hungary : Ex-Emperor Charles returns to Switzerland.
12. Greece : Proclamation of Martial Law voted.
21. Germany : The Government appeals to the United States President for mediation, without success.
21. Egypt : Plague in Alexandria.
24. Belgium : Local Government elections.
24. The Tyrol : Plebiscite shows overwhelming majority in favour of the union with Germany.
25. India : Rioting and bloodshed at Malegaon (Bombay Presidency) due to the arrest of some Khalifate volunteers.
26. Germany : Announcement of Germany's proposals as contained in her note to the United States. Germany makes a conditional offer of £10,000,000,000 in redemption of her reparation liabilities, the offer being conditional upon Germany's productive capacity.
27. Greece : Government calls up reserves.
28. Germany : Allied Reparations Commission fixes the total reparation damages due from Germany at 132 milliards of gold marks (£6,600,000,000).
30. Germany : Allied conference on German reparations and penalties.
30. Malta : System of responsible self-government comes in force.

MAY.

1. Palestine : Pogrom in Jaffa, two score Jews murdered, about 200 injured, and much property devastated.
1–2. Palestine : Racial riots in Jaffa between Arabs and Jews. Many lives lost.
2. England : Paris-London air-post service increased from one to three per day.
3–4. Silesia : Serious fighting in Silesia.
4. Germany : Government decides to resign in consequence of the American reply to the German note on reparations, but agrees to carry on pro tem.
5. France : Centenary celebration of the death of the first Napoleon.
5. Germany : Allied ultimatum to Germany, giving six days' grace, and announcing that the Allies will proceed to the Ruhr failing Germany's acceptance of the terms.
7. Austria : League of Nations proposals *re* foreign credits accepted by Austria.
10. Germany : The Reichstag declares by 221 votes to 175 for accepting the Allies' ultimatum.
10. Germany : New Coalition Cabinet (of Centre and Majority Socialist parties) with Dr. Wirth (Centre) as Imperial Chancellor.
10. Aaland Islands Commission recommends that the islands shall be left under Finnish rule.
11. Upper Silesia : Polish insurgents led by Korfanty reported masters of Upper Silesia.
13. British Premier (in the House of Commons), speaking on the Polish question, declared that the Treaty of Versailles must be strictly observed.
15. Italy : General elections ; Socialists and Communists lose 18 seats.
17. Germany : German payments begun by first instalment of 150,000,000 gold marks, partly in gold and partly in foreign bills.
18. Germany : Ex-Kaiser's son (Prince Eitel Friedrich of Prussia) fined 5,000 marks for contravening the law against the export of capital.
19. Turkey : Proclamation of neutrality for the areas under Allied military occupation published by the three High Commissioners at Constantinople.
19–22. Egypt : Demonstration and rioting in Alexandria, 56 killed and 210 wounded ; British troops take control of the town.
20. Germany : Official announcement that German Government had decided to indemnify exporters in paper marks for the levy imposed by the Entente States on German exports.
23. Germany : Trial of German War Criminals begins at Leipzig.
24. Egypt : British cruiser arrives at Alexandria and other warships expected.
25. Asia Minor : Massacre of multitudes of the Moslems by Greek irregular bands reported.
26. The first of six battalions of British infantry (6,000) entrains at Cologne for Upper Silesia.
26. Japanese intervention at Vladivostock.
27. France : French resumes diplomatic relations with the Vatican.
30. Germany completes payment of first milliard gold marks.
31. Germany : Bavarian Government announces its resolution to fulfil the ultimatum as regards the disarmament of the Einwohnerwehr (civil guard.)

JUNE.

1. Austria: Cabinet crisis, ministry resigns.
1. Upper Silesia: Germans launch an offensive.
1. United States: Racial conflicts in Oklahoma between Whites and Blacks; 50 killed and nearly 100 wounded; troops called out.
3. Canada: Lord Bing appointed Governor-General.
4. United States: Cloudburst disaster and inundations in Colorado, 500 lives lost.
4. Germany: U-boat commander Karl Neumann acquitted, at Leipzig High Court, of the charge of sinking the hospital ship "Dover Castle" in the Mediterranean during the war, on the grounds that he was bound to obey superior orders.
4. Silesia: The inter-allied Commission on Upper Silesia issue an ultimatum to the German Commander (General Hoefer) to withdraw to a fixed line, otherwise the Allied troops will evacuate industrial regions. General Hoefer declines to comply, on the ground that he had neither the power nor the will to recall his forces.
4. Agreement concluded at Belgrade between Italy, Jugo-Slavia, and Fiume for the final settlement of the question of Fiume and Porto Baros.
7. France: Chamber of Deputies ratifies treaty with Hungary.
9. Egypt: 30,000 acres of cotton and wheat devastated by torrential rain.
10. Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania: Treaty of Czecho-Slovakia alliance with Rumania signed.
10. Publication of the terms of the defensive Treaty between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania published.
11. Announcement of Franco-Kemalist agreement on economic and frontier questions.
11. Greek flotilla bombards Batoum.
11. United States: Admiral Sims recalled from England for anti-Sinn Fein speeches.
13. Second world cotton conference opened in Liverpool, and Rotarians' conference in Edinburgh.
17. Geneva: Thirteenth session of the Council of the League of Nations opened.
17–18. Germany: Violent scenes in the Reichstag.
20. Norway: New Cabinet formed.
22. China: Civil war between Kwntung and Kwntsi parties as a result of the latter's opposition to the election of Sunyat Sen as president of China.
23. Germany: Communist brigand (Max Holz) sentenced to penal servitude for life.
23. Anatolia: Kemalist forces launching an offensive.
24. United States: Admiral Sims officially reprimanded for having again delivered a highly improper speech in a foreign country.
24. League of Nations Council confirms the sovereignity of Finland over the Aaland Islands.
25. Greece: Greece rejects the mediation of the Allies as regards the Greco-Turkish war in Asia Minor.
27. Italy: Cabinet crisis. Signor Giolitti resigns.
29. Constantinople: British Commander-in-Chief arrests 52 "undesirable" persons, 18 of them belonging to the Russian trade delegation; 9 of the 18 being subsequently released and 9 deported.
30. Declaration of the Lord Chancellor that the Treaty of Alliance with Japan stands automatically renewed for another year.

JULY.

1. British Minister of Labour (in the House of Commons) announces the refusal of the Government to ratify the International Convention with regard to the eight-hour day and the employment of women before and after child-birth.
1. Silesia: Proclamation of the Inter-Allied Commission that the administration of Upper Silesia will be completely in their hands from the 5th of July.
2. Dempsey and Carpentier prize fight in New York.
2. Italy: Representative Committee of Fascists and Socialists makes compact of peace.
4. Albania: Resignation of Cabinet.
4. Italy: New Cabinet formed with Signor Bonomi as premier.
5. Poland enters into an economic convention with Rumania.
5. India: Serious disturbances at Aligarh in the United Provinces; post offices burnt down.
5. Spain: Cabinet resigns.
10. U.S.A.: President Harding suggests a disarmament conference.
10–18. Women's International League Congress opens at Vienna.
11–12. Anatolia: Greek official reports announce an advance of Greek armies of 44 miles in two days.
12. Rumania and Jugo-Slavia: Alliance concluded between the two countries.
14. Russia: Third Congress of the Communist International at Moscow ends.
18. Third Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, at Vienna, closes.

19. Russia: Great famine announced as a result of the continued drought, 20,000,000 people affected in the Volga provinces.
20. Anatolia: Official announcement of the capture of Kutahia by Greek army, 30,000 Turkish prisoners.
21. Serbia: Assassination of the Minister of the Interior (M. Drashchkovitch) in Belgrade; the assassin arrested. Also 2,000 communists subsequently arrested.
23. Morocco: Serious Spanish reverse at the hands of the Moorish tribesmen.
24. Russia: The official Soviet organ "Pravda" publishes the details of a wide-spread reactionist plot to overthrow the Soviet Government.
25. Passport visa abolished for French people coming to England and Britishers going to France, but passport still required.
30. Czecho-Slovakia: Five-weeks' strike of bank clerks (17,000) at an end.
30. Angora and Russia: Treaty signed between the two countries.
31. Germany: Socialist, Labour, and Pacifist demonstrations all over country. Watchword, "No more war."

AUGUST.

1. Russia: Announcement of the Soviet Government's acceptance of conditions *re* U.S. relief for the famine-stricken population.
1. America: Second International Convention of negro peoples opens at New York.
3. Italy: Peace Treaty between Fascists and Socialists signed in Rome.
3. Poplar Borough Council's appeal against writs of attachment dismissed.
5. Czecho-Slovakia: Exodus of the German deputies from the Czecho-Slovakia National Assembly because four members of the party were excluded by the speaker.
6. Russia: Soviet decree regarding famine regulations.
6. Jugo-Slavia: The Skupshtina (constituent assembly) annuls the mandates of all communist deputies, who are subsequently ordered by the Belgrade police to leave the capital and return to their abodes, to remain under police supervision.
8. Silesia: Supreme Council meets in Paris to discuss the problem of Silesia.
9. Silesia: British Premier (Mr. Lloyd George) speaks in plain terms to France with regard to Silesia.
10. Russia: Supreme Council in Paris agrees that the Allies should join with America and other countries in relief to famine-stricken Russia.
10. Peace Conference at Luxemburg.
10. Mesopotamia: The Emir Feisul elected by referendum as King of Irak.
11. England: International appeal signed by leading personages on behalf of Russian famine relief.
13. Spain: New Cabinet formed, with Señor Maura as Premier.
15. Red Cross Conference at Geneva regarding relief work for Russia.
17. England: Recruiting for Spain's Foreign Legion begins in London.
19. Jugo-Slavia: King Alexander's proclamation, announcing his accession to the throne.
22. India: Local revolt in Malabar.
23. Morocco: Battle between the Spanish forces and tribesmen, the latter suffering severely.
24. U.S.A. and Austria: Peace Treaty between U.S.A. and Austrian Republic signed at Vienna.
24. United States and Germany: Peace Treaty between the two countries signed at Berlin.
24. India: Military operations in Malabar.
26. Germany: Assassination of Herr Erzberger, ex-Minister of Finance.
27. India: 400 Moplahs killed in action by British Relief Column.
29. Hungary: Fighting on the Hungarian frontier. Transfer of border area to Austria resisted.
29. India: Martial law proclaimed in various districts of Malabar.
30. Portugal: New Cabinet of liberals formed with Senhor Antonio Granjo as president.

SEPTEMBER.

2. Trade agreement arranged between the Norwegian and Russian Governments.
5. Switzerland: Session of the assembly of the League of Nations opens. Dr. H. A. Van Karnabeck, chief delegate for Holland, elected as president.
10. Ministerial crisis in Poland; the Cabinet resigns.
13. The United States Government concludes trade agreement with Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbijan.
19. International Textile Congress opens at Paris.
29. The Assembly of the League of Nations rejects Nansen's proposals concerning credits in and to Russia.

OCTOBER.

6. International Conference on Russian famine opens at Brussels; on the 8th the conference records its decision against credits for the assistance of Russia.
18. Opening of the French Parliament.
20. Franco-Turkish Treaty signed.
21. Ex-emperor Karl's abortive attempt to re-establish monarchism in Hungary.

HOME EVENTS—(GENERAL).

JANUARY.

10. New telephone tariffs begin for new exchange circuits, and additions to existing installations. Application to existing installations to begin on April 1st. Average increased cost about 67 per cent.
11. First trial by mixed jury, in the Central Criminal Court, London.
19. Issue of Cave Commission's report. Chartered Company awarded £4,435,225, less certain reductions. Company's original claim was for over £7,000,000.
20. British submarine sunk off Land's End during manœuvres; 57 lives lost.
21. Proposal for a new Economic Industrial Policy for Liberals issued by the Executive of the National Liberal Federation.
25. Issue of the British draft of the proposed trade agreement with Russia.
26. Cambrian railway disaster; 16 persons killed and many seriously injured.

FEBRUARY.

7. Committee on Trusts issues its report on the Soap industry.
10. Lord Robert Cecil announces his decision to join the opposition.
14. Parliament reopened. Extension of Unemployment Insurance benefits promised in the King's Speech.
23. Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury at Westminster declares in favour of duly qualified women being permitted to speak and pray in consecrated buildings at services or meetings for prayer or instruction other than the regular and appointed church services.

MARCH.

17. The Unionist Leader (Mr. Bonar Law) retires on account of ill health.
21. Mr. Austin Chamberlain elected to the leadership of the Unionist Party.
25. Announcement of a provisional agreement of the purchase of the L. and Y. Railway by the L. and N.W. Railway Company.
31. Ministries of Shipping, Food, and Munitions officially abolished.

APRIL.

1. Ministry re-constructed; 22 changes; Sir R. S. Horne becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer.
2–3. Summer Time begins at midnight.
7. Mail service to Russia reopened.
12. Mr. Justice A. T. Lawrence appointed Lord Chief Justice in succession to Lord Reading.
25. Budget introduced by the new Chancellor, Sir Robert Horne.
26. The Speaker (Mr. J. W. Lowther) retires and is subsequently succeeded by Mr. J. H. Whitley, deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees.
26. Central Control Board (liquor traffic) announces relaxation of liquor restrictions.

MAY.

7. Japanese Crown Prince arrives in England on a diplomatic visit.
12. British Bankers' manifesto against the Government's trade restriction policy.
31. The House of Commons passes the financial resolutions of the Key Industries Bill relating to protection of certain specified industries and to the imposition of restrictions on the importations of "dumped" goods, a customs duty of 33⅓ per cent of the value of the articles to be imposed in the first place, and an extra duty of 33⅓ per cent in the second case.

JUNE.

1. Derby Day at Epsom, business as usual.
1. House of Commons rejects a scheme for free travelling for M.P.'s by a majority of 26.
4. Birthday honours list, 3 new peers, 16 baronets, and 54 knights.
7. Coalition defeat in St. George's, Westminster.
8. Safeguarding of Industries Bill passes the second reading by 312 to 92 votes.
14–15–16. Ascot Races.
17. Memorial to Mr. Chamberlain signed by 151 Coalition M.P.'s on Government expenditure.
15. Mr. Lloyd George, addressing a meeting in connection with the general assembly of Calvinistic Methodists of Wales, declares the Irish question to be an unfitting subject for religious conferences.
16. Ascot Gold Cup day; road traffic congested.
17. National Peace Congress opened at Birmingham; over 200 delegates present.
18. Attempted Unionist revolt against the Premier proves abortive.
19. Census of the United Kingdom.
20. British Empire Conference of Prime Ministers opens at 10, Downing Street.
21. Trial of Farrow's Bank officials, at the Old Bailey, concludes; chairman director sentenced to four years penal servitude, and the auditor to 12 months' imprisonment.
22. Inauguration of the new Northern Parliament (for Ulster) by the King and Queen.
25. Birthday of League of Nations; great demonstration in London.
25. The hottest day of the year; in most districts 12 hours of sunshine recorded.
28. Unemployment Insurance Bill passes third reading by 240 votes against 81. Labour motion for rejection defeated.

JULY.

5. Infant Welfare Congress opens in London.
7. Pan-Celtic Congress opens in the Town Hall, Douglas, Isle of Man.
11. Highest shade temperature, 93 degrees in the shade, recorded at Southend.
13. Russian Gold test case; judgment in favour of the Soviet agent.
14. Ministry of Health limits number of houses to be built.
14. Dr. Addison (Minister without portfolio) resigns from the Cabinet as a protest against the Government's new housing policy.
28. Rain in all parts of England ends long drought.
30. Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) announces that England and France have come to an arrangement with regard to Silesia and that the crisis in the relations of the two allies is at an end.

AUGUST.

14. Railways decontrolled.
23. Preliminary Census figures issued.
24. The world's largest airship, R38, breaks in two and falls into the Humber in flames; death roll of 46.
31. END OF WAR. Statutory date fixed as the end of the war, and for the abrogation of such statutes, regulations and contracts as determined by that date.

SEPTEMBER.

1. New Licensing Act comes into operation. Liquor Control Board abolished.

IRISH EVENTS.

THE outstanding event of the year as regards Ireland has been the attempt by the British Government to bring about a settlement by peaceful negotiation on the basis of Dominion Home Rule; an offer bearing eloquent testimony to the failure of the policy of intensified "frightfulness" carried out by the Government during the first half of the year, and also to the intensified odium evoked both at home and abroad by deeds recalling the Prussian methods of terrorism in Belgium, which had been denounced as a crime against humanity by the very men responsible for the policy carried out in Ireland. How far the comparison with Belgium held good may be gauged by the methods resorted to in the first half of 1921, such as the carrying of hostages as a method of defence, the penalisation of civilians for the deeds of armed Sinn Feiners, and the trial by courtmartial and execution of Sinn Feiners taken prisoners in arms against the Crown. As part and parcel of the militarist policy there was also the system of economic pressure, exercised by the closing of co-operative creameries, the prohibition of fairs and markets, and the closing of sections of railroads to the widespread injury of the civilian population. To this must be added over-riding of the civil authorities by the prohibition of the hearing of claims for compensation in the courts when the Crown forces were involved; together with the military censorship of the press, and the gross scandals which came to light (scandals such as the excesses and looting by Crown forces, the condonation of indiscipline which caused General Crozier to resign in protest, and last but not least, the issue of forged copies of the "Irish Bulletin.")

As regards the effects of this policy—these may be seen from the burning down of the Dublin Custom House in May, and the election of Sinn Feiners (unopposed) to all the seats in the newly-established Southern Parliament, except the four Unionist seats connected with Trinity College—the four members of which were the only ones to put in an appearance when the Parliament was opened. Furthermore the Chief Secretary for Ireland admitted in the House of Commons that the efficacy of the reprisal policy was open to question; then in the King's speech at the opening of the Northern Parliament was sounded a new note, and after that came the preliminary peace negotiations outlined in the following diary:—

JUNE.

22. Opening of the Ulster Parliament by King George and appeal (in the King's Speech) to "all Irishmen to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation."
24. The Prime Minister invites the Sinn Fein leader (Mr. de Valera) and the Ulster Premier (Sir James Craig) to a conference with the British Government in London, the invitation being accepted by the Ulster Premier and deferred by the Sinn Fein leader, pending a consultation with Southern Unionist leaders.
30. Sinn Fein M.P.'s released from prison.

JULY.

4. Conference of Sinn Fein leaders with Southern Unionist representatives.
5. General Smuts arrives in Dublin and visits the Mansion House.
8. Second conference between Sinn Fein leaders and representatives of Southern Unionists, held at the Mansion House, Dublin. General Macready (Commander-in-chief of the British forces in Ireland) also visits the Mansion House.
8. Mr. de Valera informs Mr. Lloyd George of his readiness to meet and discuss "on what basis such a conference as that proposed can reasonably hope to achieve the object desired."
9. The terms of the Irish Truce agreed upon between General Macready and representatives of the army of the Sinn Fein forces.
11. Truce to hostilities signed.
14. The Irish delegation arrives in London. Mr. de Valera and Mr. Lloyd George hold their first conference at 10, Downing Street.
15. The Ulster delegation arrives in London. Sir James Craig (the Ulster Premier) confers with Mr. Lloyd George.
23. The truce in danger owing to the refusal of the British military authorities in the martial law area to co-operate with the liaison officers of the I.R.A. as such.
25. In the Court of Appeal, two judges out of three hold that the Irish D.O.R.A. applies to England and dismiss the appeal of a young Irishman (arrested at Wallasey with a view to being sent to Ireland for internment) against the decision of a King's Bench Divisional Court.
27. Cabinet meeting of Dail Eireann meets at the Dublin Mansion House to discuss the British Government's offer.
28. In the House of Lords, the Lords of Appeal, in dismissing the appeal of Patrick Clifford and Michael O'Sullivan, of Mitchelstown, Co. Cork (who challenged the jurisdiction of a military court in Cork which had sentenced them to death on a charge of having been found in possession of firearms and ammunition on April 1st) declared that the military court in question was not a court in any legal sense and that therefore a writ of prohibition did not lie.

AUGUST.

7. Peace negotiations in danger owing to the refusal of Dublin Castle to release Mr. J. J. McKeown ("the chivalrous blacksmith of Ballinasloe") whilst setting at liberty all the other imprisoned members of Dail Eireann.
8. Mr. J. J. McKeown released.
14. Terms of the Government offer to Ireland, together with Mr. de Valera's reply and Mr. Lloyd George's answer thereto. The Government offers Dominion status, coupled with reservations regarding the navy and air service, the strength of the Irish defence force, the right to enlist for army and navy, free trade with England, a share of the war debt, financial contribution towards the navy, and no coercion of Ulster.
17. First public meeting of Dail Eireann in Dublin. Mr. de Valera declares that "the British proposals are not just," and repeats his demands.
24. The Sinn Fein reply to the Government proposals (sent by Mr. de Valera) announces that Dail Eireann has rejected them by a unanimous vote, and repudiates the claim to subordinate her independence to British strategy, but that Dail Eireann is prepared to appoint its representatives to negotiate a peace "on the basis of the broad-guiding principle of Government by the consent of the governed."
26. Mr. de Valera re-elected "President of the Republic" by Dail Eireann.
26. Mr. Lloyd George replies to Mr. de Valera's letter, expresses his profound astonishment at the contents, declares that the British Government has gone to the very limit of its power and avers that the terms proposed fulfil the principle of government by the consent of the governed, and conclude by inviting the Sinn Fein leaders to a conference if they are prepared to examine how far the British considerations set forth can be reconciled with Irish aspirations.
30. Mr. de Valera rejects the British claim to the rulership of Ireland, but agrees to send plenipotentiaries to a conference, providing that the negotiations are untrammelled by any conditions save the facts themselves.

SEPTEMBER.

7. The Cabinet meets at Inverness, and the Premier invites the Sinn Fein leaders to a conference on September 20th, to consider "how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish aspirations."
12. The Dail Cabinet, through Mr. de Valera, consents to the conference, provided that the Irish delegates participate as representatives of a sovereign state.
15. The Premier refuses to hold a conference on the basis suggested.
29. The Premier issues an invitation to a conference in London on October 11th, with a view to the same ascertainment as suggested on September 7th, no other condition being attached. The invitation is accepted.

OCTOBER.

11. Conference takes place at Downing Street.

DECEMBER.

6. Peace Treaty with Ireland signed after protracted negotiations.

THE CENSUS FIGURES, 1921.

THE preliminary report of the 1921 Census (taken on June 19th instead of April 24th as originally intended) shows a population for England and Wales of 37,885,242 persons (18,082,220 males and 19,803,022 females) ; or an increase of 1,814,750 since the Census of 1911. How the figures compare with those of previous censuses may be seen from the following table :—

ENGLAND AND WALES : POPULATION, 1801–1921.

Date of Enumeration.	Population.			Decennial Increase per cent of Population.*	No. of Females to 1,000 Males.
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	
1801, March 9/10	8,892,536	4,254,735	4,637,801	—	1,057
1811, May 26/27	10,164,256	4,873,605	5,290,651	14·00	1,054
1821, May 27/28	12,000,236	5,850,319	6,149,917	18·06	1,036
1831, May 29/30	13,896,797	6,771,196	7,125,601	15·80	1,040
1841, June 6/7	15,914,148	7,777,586	8,136,562	14·27	1,046
1851, March 30/31	17,927,609	8,781,225	9,146,384	12·65	1,042
1861, April 7/8	20,066,224	9,776,259	10,289,965	11·90	1,053
1871, April 2/3	22,712,266	11,058,934	11,653,332	13·21	1,054
1881, April 3/4	25,974,439	12,639,902	13,334,537	14·36	1,055
1891, April 5/6	29,002,525	14,052,901	14,949,624	11·65	1,064
1901, March 31/April 1	32,527,843	15,728,613	16,799,230	12·17	1,068
1911, April 2/3	36,070,492	17,445,608	18,624,884	10·89	1,068
1921, June 19/20	37,885,242	18,082,220	19,803,022	4·93	1,095

Note.—The population at each Census 1801 to 1831 is exclusive of the Army, Royal Navy, and Merchant Service at home and abroad ; for 1841 the population includes the Army at home, men on shore belonging to the Royal Navy or to the Merchant Service, and, in a few cases, persons on board vessels in harbours ; the population at each Census 1851 to 1921 includes the Army at home, men on shore belonging to the Royal Navy or to the Merchant Service, and all persons on board vessels in port on Census night or arriving the following day.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

The following comparative figures show the distribution of population in England and Wales :—

District.	Area in Statute Acres (Land and Inland Water).	Population.		Variation in Intercensal Period (Persons.)	
		1911.	1921.	Increase.	Ratio 1921 to 1911.
		Persons.	Persons.		
					%
ENGLAND AND WALES	37,340,338	36,070,492	37,885,242	1,814,750	105
County Boroughs	640,034	11,919,500	12,583,166	663,666	106
*Administrative Counties	36,700,304	24,150,992	25,302,076	1,151,084	105
*Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts	3,524,546	16,620,957	17,451,219	830,262	105
Rural Districts	33,175,758	7,530,035	7,850,857	320,822	104

* Including the City of London and the Metropolitan Boroughs.

District.	Area in Statute Acres (Land and Inland Water).	Population.		Variation in Intercensal Period (Persons).	
		1911.	1921.	Increase.	Ratio 1921 to 1911.
		Persons.	Persons.		
					%
Wales	4,780,470	2,025,202	2,206,712	181,510	109
County Boroughs	45,849	407,246	437,984	30,738	108
Administrative Counties	4,734,621	1,617,956	1,768,728	150,772	109
Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts	382,929	875,768	976,405	100,637	111
Rural Districts	4,351,692	742,188	792,323	50,135	107

Greater London: Area and Population, 1901–1921.

The area of London and the growth of the population is shown as follows:—

District.	Area in Statute Acres (Land and Inland Water).	Population.		
		1901	1911	1921
Administrative County of London and City of London	74,850	4,536,267	4,521,685	4,483,249
Outer Ring	368,599	2,045,135	2,729,673	2,992,919
Greater London	443,449	6,581,402	7,251,358	7,476,168

Large Towns.

Of the 1,126 urban districts 101 (including the Administrative County of London as one district) had respectively an enumerated population exceeding 50,000 at the latest Census. There were 97 such towns in 1911 of which four have ceased to exist as separate administrative units (viz., Handsworth, Aston Manor, King's Norton, and Northfield and Devonport), while eight have been added (viz., Cambridge, Carlisle, Exeter, Chesterfield, Luton, Hendon, Doncaster, and Wood Green).

The 101 towns with populations of over 50,000 each accounted in the aggregate for 18,692,501 persons or nearly one-half of the total population of England and Wales.

The 20 large towns in which the recorded increase was more than 10 per cent are specified below, and in the adjoining column are given the 12 large towns in which an actual decrease was shown.

Increases greater than 10 per cent.

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Blackpool	64·0	Croydon	12·6
Southend-on-Sea	50·0	Wimbledon	11·8
Hendon	44·3	Southampton	11·6
Coventry	20·6	Doncaster	11·6
Eastbourne	18·1	Birkenhead	11·3
Barrow-in-Furness	16·4	Ealing	10·7
Bournemouth	15·9	Chesterfield	10·7
Wallasey	15·6	Newport (Mon.)	10·4
Darlington	14·9	Grimsby	10·3
Luton	14·2	Southport	10·1

Decreases.

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Blackburn	4·8	Bolton	1·2
Bury	4·4	Merthyr Tydfil	1·0
Burnley	3·4	Bradford	·9
Halifax	2·4	London	·9
Oldham	1·7	Bath	·8
Norwich	1·3	Rochdale	·7

With regard to the decreases the Census Report says: The presence, among the 12 cases of decrease, of six Lancashire towns is remarkable, particularly having regard to the fact that Lancashire as a whole increased at a rate very little different from the average of England and Wales. It is difficult not to associate these decreases with the large increases shown for Blackpool and neighbouring holiday resorts.

Towns of over 100,000 Inhabitants.

Fifty-five of the 101 towns have populations of over 50,000 each and 46 have populations of over 100,000 each, as compared with 44 at the Census of 1911. The list of 46 towns with over 100,000 inhabitants each is as follows:—

London (City and Administrative County)	4,483,249	Leicester	234,190	Middlesbrough	131,103
Birmingham	919,438	Salford	234,150	Derby	129,836
Liverpool	803,118	Plymouth	209,857	Leyton	128,432
Manchester	730,551	Cardiff	200,262	Coventry	128,205
Sheffield	490,724	Croydon	190,877	Walthamstow	127,441
Leeds	458,320	Bolton	178,678	Blackburn	126,630
Bristol	377,061	Willesden	165,669	Gateshead	124,514
West Ham	300,905	Rhondda	162,729	Stockport	123,315
Kingston-on-Hull	287,013	Southampton	160,997	Norwich	120,653
Bradford	285,979	Sunderland	159,100	Preston	117,426
Newcastle-on-Tyne	274,955	Swansea	157,561	South Shields	116,667
Nottingham	262,658	Tottenham	146,695	Huddersfield	110,120
Portsmouth	247,343	Birkenhead	145,592	Southend-on-Sea	106,021
Stoke-on-Trent	240,440	Oldham	145,001	Burnley	103,175
		East Ham	143,304	St. Helens	102,675
		Brighton	142,427	Wolverhampton	102,373

The Population in Parliamentary Constituencies and the Parliamentary Electorate.

Parliamentary Constituencies.	Population.		Parliamentary Electors, Spring Register, 1921.		
	1911	1921			
	Persons.	Persons.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
England and Wales	36,070,492	37,885,242	17,657,723	10,182,617	7,475,106
Parliamentary Boroughs	19,131,949	19,899,115	9,249,485	5,280,857	3,968,628
Parliamentary Counties	16,938,543	17,986,127	8,372,967	4,872,253	3,500,714
Universities	—	—	35,271	29,507	5,764
England	34,045,290	35,678,530	16,653,727	9,580,865	7,072,862
Parliamentary Boroughs	18,442,634	19,157,553	8,920,270	5,082,855	3,837,415
Parliamentary Counties	15,602,656	16,520,977	7,699,409	4,469,361	3,230,048
Universities	—	—	34,048	28,649	5,399
Wales	2,025,202	2,206,712	1,003,996	601,752	402,244
Parliamentary Boroughs	689,315	741,562	329,215	198,002	131,213
Parliamentary Counties	1,335,887	1,465,150	673,558	402,892	270,666
University —	—	—	1,223	858	365

POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AT EACH SUCCESSIVE CENSUS 1891-1921.

	1891	1901	1911	1921
England	27,483,551	30,807,310	34,045,290	35,678,530
Wales	1,518,974	1,720,533	2,025,202	2,206,712
Scotland	4,025,647	4,472,103	4,760,904	4,882,288
Great Britain	33,028,172	36,999,946	40,831,396	42,767,530
Ireland	4,704,750	4,458,775	4,390,219	*
United Kingdom	37,732,922	41,458,721	45,221,615	
OTHER BRITISH ISLANDS—				
Isle of Man	55,608	54,752	52,016	60,238
Jersey	54,518	52,576	51,898	49,494
Guernsey and adjacent Isles	37,716	43,042	45,001	40,120
	147,842	150,370	148,915	149,852

* Census of Ireland had not been taken at the date of the Census Report.

BRITISH EMPIRE: PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES—POPULATION 1911 AND 1921.

COUNTRIES.	POPULATION.				Increase per cent in Intercensal period. (Persons.) 1911-1921
	1911.	1921.			
	Persons.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	
Great Britain	40,831,396	42,767,530	20,430,623	22,336,907	4·7
Ireland	4,390,219	*	*	*	*
Australian Commonwealth (excluding full blooded aborigines)	4,455,005	5,426,008	2,756,112	2,669,896	21·8
New Zealand (excluding Maoris)	1,008,468	1,218,270	622,708	595,562	20·8
Indian Empire	315,156,396	319,075,132	164,056,191	155,018,941	1·2
Union of South Africa (Europeans only)	1,276,242	1,521,635	783,481	738,154	19·2
Canada	7,204,838	†	†	†	†

* The Census of Ireland had not been taken at the date of publication of this Report.
† Figures not available.

PRINCE P. KROPOTKIN,

Taken in his study at Bromley, Kent, a short time before his death, which occurred after his return to Russia, on February 8th, 1921.
Prince Kropotkin, sociologist and scientist, and the author of the popular work, "Fields, Factories, and Workshops,"
was for many years a Russian exile, resident in England.

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT, K.C.V.O.

Founder and Leader of the Agricultural Co-operative Movement in Ireland.

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT.

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT began his life work for Irish co-operation in 1889, on his return from America to Ireland, where he was born in 1854. He began by carefully studying the co-operative movement in England and applied its principles to the different social conditions of the less industrialised island. The problem that faced him was, in his own words, "To make a people who are not farmers, prosper in a country dependent on farming." He saw, however, that the co-operative idea had an almost unique opportunity. The clan system which is the background of the Irish as the feudal is that of the English society, is naturally far more sympathetic with the idea of mutual help. Nevertheless the country was divided against itself, and it was a unique triumph when Sir Horace persuaded Redmond and Carson, for the only time to meet, to discuss plans whereby their fellow countrymen might be helped to help themselves. After he had founded the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, Sir Horace left it in the care of his lieutenant, Mr. R. A. Anderson, and passed on to the creation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, while his other chief fellow-worker envisaged the co-operative commonwealth.

Sir Horace's aim throughout has been nothing less than the building up of a new civilisation based upon co-operation. A practical idealist, he worked at better farming and better business as the necessary steps to the better living which shall remake society through mutual help. A true patriot and a true co-operator, he realised that whatever he accomplished was done no less for humanity, and the visits already paid to his Co-operative Reference Library by Asiatics as well as Europeans, show that wherever the rural problem arises, there the pioneer work done for this country will bear a second, and not less abundant, harvest. The rural problem is perhaps the supreme problem that faces civilisation. Co-operation, in the fullest sense, is its solution. In this respect Ireland may well save herself by her exertions, and not only Europe, but civilisation, by her example. Should this hope be realised, it will be in large measure through the life work of Sir Horace Plunkett.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

AMONGST the British notabilities who passed away in 1921, one of the most arresting personalities was that of Henry Mayers Hyndman, the founder of the Social-democratic movement in Great Britain, and for thirty-nine years the chief apostle of Marxian Socialism in this country.

Born in the year 1842, in the lifetime of Robert Owen and in the period of the Chartist agitation, he lived to see the organised political Labour movement recognised as the coming controller of the State, and he lived to see the development of Socialism into a world-wide force and its henchmen moulding the destinies of European nations.

Developments in Great Britain he helped to promote both directly and indirectly ; directly as the founder and leader of the first political Socialist organisation and as the Boanerges of the Marxian Socialist movement unto the end of his life ; whilst (paradoxical as it may seem) indirectly he was instrumental in bringing into relief the characteristics of a socialist movement of a more constructive and persuasive type—a type which gained by force of contrast with the dogmatic and doctrinaire propaganda of the leading apostle of the Marxian faith. This faith he fulminated from the housetops, so to speak, for nigh on forty years, hurling his philippics against the capitalist regime with the trenchant invective of a Hebrew prophet denouncing the iniquities of his age and proclaiming the doom of the unrighteous.

But, as all men know, the policy of persuasive advocacy adapted to the national temperament, together with the plan of campaign adapted to national conditions—these remained outside his latitude, and fell to the task of the leaders of the Socialist-reformist school.

Nevertheless, his name is inseparably associated with the social transformation of the last four decades, and the historian will record it to his merit that though born in affluent circumstances he stepped out of the ranks of his class to fight for the economic emancipation of the proletariat, and that to this cause he gave unstinted service and devoted his life. He nailed his colours to the mast and fought harder for his principles than many men for expediency. From first stage to last he steered a straight course and proved himself a valiant fighter for the faith that was in him. Such were the qualities which gained the respect even of lifelong opponents, who at his death paid their tribute to the memory of the departed warrior.

LAW FOR NOTHING.

MOST people are under the impression that the law is a very expensive luxury to indulge in—but this is not so in all cases.

A poor person can, in fact, bring law suits and defend them for practically nothing. This procedure is termed "suing *in formâ pauperis*," and the way it is done is this:—

The person who feels aggrieved writes out the facts of his complaint in the form of a statement, which is laid before a barrister for his opinion. If the barrister, after consideration of all the circumstances, considers he has a good case, an affidavit is made by the applicant that he is not worth more than £25, except his wearing apparel, and this document, with counsel's opinion, and other papers, are laid before a judge who, after perusal, may make an order. The applicant is then at liberty to proceed with his action without paying any professional fees to his solicitor or counsel.

This course of procedure applies both to the King's Bench and Chancery Divisions of the High Court, and appeals are even taken right up to the House of Lords, suing in this way.

Not long since a new department called the "Poor Persons Department" was instituted in the High Court for dealing with matters of a matrimonial nature—divorce, judicial separation, &c.

All the aggrieved party has to do is to make application to that department, setting out fully the facts and circumstances of his case, and that he has no funds to meet the ordinary legal expenses. The department will then investigate and consider the matter, and on being satisfied, will instruct one of the solicitors on their list, who will then prepare the case, and brief counsel on the hearing—the cost to the applicant being very little.

It may be added that a very large number of poor persons have availed themselves of the services of this department since its institution.

All of us know of the official called the "Public Prosecutor," who, on information being laid before the Treasury, institutes prosecutions against offenders in the public interest, and as an off-set to this, it has recently been proposed to introduce another official to be called the "Public Defender," who will, at little cost, undertake the defence of persons charged, if they are unable to pay solicitors to defend them. Even as it is, however, a poor person who is on his trial and is not defended can have a barrister assigned for his defence on applying to the judge—and this again without cost to him.

Then there is the "Public Trustee," an official who, at little cost, undertakes the work of proving wills and administering estates in which he has been appointed executor. He, in fact, acts exactly in the same way as a private executor, at a small percentage on the value of the estate. This department has also developed very greatly since its foundation a few years ago.

At some of the probate registries (including the principal registry at Somerset House, London) there is a "Personal Application Department," which deals with matters relating to wills, and assists, *free of charge*, poor people to prepare the intricate forms for applying for probate, thus saving them the expense of employing a solicitor to do the work.

Selling property used to be very expensive, but under the system adopted in certain districts land is now registered at "Land Registries" so that no investigation of title is necessary when selling again, thus saving much legal expense.

Poverty, therefore, does not altogether debar a person from obtaining the aid of the law.

H. H.

OIL *versus* COAL.
A NEW INDUSTRIAL FORCE.

By Charles W. Hunt, A.M.I.Mech.E.

DURING the recent coal dispute the Secretary of the Admiralty announced in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to equip all warships in course of construction with fuel oil-burning installations for steam-raising purposes; further, it was announced that existing warships of the navy will be turned over from coal burning to oil burning as soon as the change can be effected.

It is known that this decision was not a sudden one arising out of the coal shortage, but that it is the result of experiments and tests of the relative economy and efficiency combined with the mechanical advantages possessed by fuel oil over coal. What these advantages are it is proposed to set forth herein; to indicate the uses of fuel oil industrially, and its comparative value in relation to coal, and to give some idea of its utility, origin, and method of production.

The advantages of fuel oil over solid fuel really needs little labouring to anyone who has ever used it properly. Broadly stated, it is more easily stored and can be handled almost entirely by mechanical means, so that transport from storage tank to the furnace is automatic; whilst the efficiency and convenience are most appreciated at the boiler itself, where there is no labour and dirt contingent on stoking, clinkering, and ash removal, and where the fuel burns rapidly and more completely, producing no soot, the flame can be regulated within wide limits, and when once regulated will burn without attention for hours.

In the British navy to-day about 90 per cent of the ships are fired by oil. This method assures increased radius of action with increased speed, and increased evaporation, or water converted into steam. Absence of smoke, reduction in stokehold labour, greater facility of bunkering, or storage, and improved steaming facilities.

In the mercantile marine the advantages are somewhat different though none the less important, and result in increased capacity either for cargo or passengers or both, less running costs, with increased speed, rapid and cleanly bunkering, reduction in stokehold labour—a very arduous job—pleasanter conditions for the fewer men required.

Fuel Oil for Industrial Purposes.

For land boilers, that is boilers used for industrial purposes such as mills, workshops, and factories, liquid oil firing offers many notable advantages if properly applied; not in the crude manner as so many extemporised burners were applied during the late coal shortage. These may be summarised as follows: Increased evaporative capacity combined with furnace efficiency, varying from 40 per cent to 80 per cent according to type of boiler, adaptability to suit varying loads, absence of smoke, ashes, and dust, with all their attendant inconveniences, reduction of labour costs, and entire elimination of charges with regard to disposal of ashes and clinker, all round cleanliness and efficiency.

For many other forms of industrial furnaces, such as required for heating, welding, and melting of metals, &c., liquid fuel again offers advantages over solid fuel. These are: More rapid heating giving increased output, less wastage and more uniform results, absence of scale and attendant loss of metal, higher temperatures obtainable and these more easily under control, less floor space and general cleaner conditions.

It is important to remember that boilers, whether of marine or land type, if burning coal can be readily altered to burn liquid fuel or *vice versa* when required.

If suitable arrangements are made, the change can be done at the cost of a few pounds, in the case of a ship by its own engineers without trouble or delay to the vessel, and by the works staff in the case of boilers of land type.

Fuel Oil for Locomotives.

For the first time many of the locomotives on our railways were also changed over during the coal shortage, and the experience gained has resulted

in some permanent retention of this system. In Mexico the railways run entirely on fuel oil, and the weight of fuel consumed per train kilometre has been reduced by 32 per cent, and a saving of fuel of 40 per cent. In this case costs of handling were also reduced, oil being transferred from storage tanks to locomotives for about ·03 cents per ton, the average for handling coal being about 5 cents per ton. In that country fuel oil practically handles itself, as the water pump men supervise the supplies of fuel oil to locomotives. No data is to hand regarding its use on British railways, it being still in the experimental stages.

THE CALORIFIC VALUE OF FUEL OIL.

The calorific value of fuel oil is 18,500 B.T.U's per pound. Coal varies according to quality from 11,500 to 14,500 B.T.U's, it will thus be seen that the heat properties of the former are anything from 29 per cent to 63 per cent better. The calorific value of coal is a very variable quantity depending on the nature and source of origin; on the contrary, with oil fuel the variations of calorific value are so slight as to be negligible, and the supplies usually available in this country can be depended upon to remain constant.

THE COMBUSTION OF FUEL OIL.

Dealing with the combustion of fuel oil it may be stated that 14lbs. of air is required per pound of oil, but in practice some excess is recommended. If, however, the excess is too great some cooling effect will be exerted in the firebox with consequent loss of heating efficiency; on the other hand, with insufficient air, combustion will not be complete. Generally 25 per cent of air in excess of theoretical requirements should prove ample; it is possible by watching the smoke stack to tell that oil is being completely burned, absence of any visible smoke indicating the fact, and, of course, the waste gases from fuel oil burning are ordinarily harmless and not detrimental to the surrounding property nor vegetation.

The underlying principles connected with the method of burning fuel oil is to break up the oil into particles as completely as possible. The combustion of any fuel takes place entirely from the surface, and the more the surface is increased in relation to the bulk the more rapid and complete will be the combustion.

This effect is obtained in practice in a variety of methods, and the various systems in vogue may be classified under three general headings:—

(*a*) Steam injection burners.
(*b*) Air injection burners.
(*c*) Mechanical burners.

The consideration or choice of which of the three principal systems to adopt will vary largely according to the circumstances of the case. From the point of view of simplicity, atomisation by steam takes the first place, but on the score of economy the system of mechanical atomisation heads the list, as when working by forced draught the pressure jet is capable of spraying more oil in the same time than can be done by either of the other two methods. As to the evaporative efficiency of the various methods, it may be stated that the mechanical or pressure jet system gives the highest efficiency, about 80 per cent of the theoretical maximum. The hot air burner comes next, but close up, whilst the steam burner gives an efficiency of 70 to 75 per cent, all, of course, apart from the amount of steam required for running them.

ORIGIN AND PRODUCTION OF PETROLEUM.

With regard to its origin and production petroleum has been known for many centuries in the Baku district, and doubtless the different out-croppings of petroleum, as well as the natural gas therefrom, which supplied the "Eternal fires" were known to the devotees who visited the historic temple of the ancient Fire worshippers of Surakhany near the Caspian Sea.

Testimony to the early knowledge of petroleum is also furnished by explorers of America during the eighteenth century, who reported the burning of crude oil in the religious rites of the Indians; it was also used by their "medicine men" for curative purposes.

Petroleum is now found in many parts of the world and at various depths, ranging from a few feet to 4,000 feet. Rumania possesses immense stores, and large supplies came from that country in pre-war days. During the war its oil wells were purposely destroyed to prevent them falling into enemy hands, but reconstruction is now being rapidly pushed forward, and supplies will presently be available. Mexico has, however, in recent years, yielded the largest supplies of petroleum and probably

possesses the greatest oil-bearing strata in the world. Persia and Mesopotamia also possess large natural oil deposits.

Geologically it may be said that in oil producing regions the rocks are generally alternating beds of sandstone and shale. By pressure in the earth's crust these beds are folded into arches and troughs technically known as anticlines and synclines respectively. The oil has a tendency to gather in the arched beds provided there exists suitable reservoir beds for holding it, and beds of shale over the sandstone to prevent the oil from flowing upwards. It is forced into the arches by pressure of the underlying water, and the natural gas associated with the oil, being lighter, is found on top. This gas is a very important factor in forcing the oil out of the rocks to the surface, since production decreases with the gas pressure, and special precautions are taken to conserve the gas pressure after boring or tapping has been accomplished.

The usual well-known methods of boring are observed in "tapping" the ground for oil, the percussion system, or the rotary system of drilling being most common. On reaching the deposit the accumulated gas pressure above the oil forces the liquid up through the bore in a solid stream rising many feet high. This is termed a "gusher" or "geyser," and by suitable channels the outflow is led into an open reservoir close by, from which it is drawn upon as required, purified and prepared for the market.

It is unfortunate that after prolonged search and costly outlay no oil deposit worth mentioning has been discovered in this country, although shale oil has been produced in Scotland.

The Smoke Nuisance Preventable by the Use of Fuel Oil.

The smoke nuisance of our towns is known by experts to be preventable, a perfect smokeless combustion of fuel would obviate it entirely. The Public Health Act of 1871 made it an offence to emit black smoke, but much remains to be done. It is computed in the County of London 76,000 tons of soot descends upon the area every year, and all large industrial centres suffer in a similar degree.

Smoke nuisance could be greatly abated by the larger use of fuel oil.

World's Output of Crude Petroleum in Tons.

Country.	1913.	1919.
America (U.S.)	33,126,200	49,116,300
Mexico	3,556,600	13,581,800
Russia	9,112,750	5,000,000
Dutch E. Indies	1,534,200	1,890,000
British India	1,000,000	1,100,000
Persia	236,600	1,000,000
Rumania	1,885,200	919,850
Galicia	1,087,300	614,000
Peru	247,650	350,000
Japan	258,900	350,000
Great Britain	300,000	300,000
Trinidad	78,350	300,000
Egypt	12,600	238,000
Argentine	28,000	198,000
Germany	132,750	100,000
Venezuela	—	60,000
Canada	30,400	33,000
Italy	7,000	5,500
Other countries	26,000	50,000
World's total	52,660,500	75,096,450

OIL STATISTICS FOR U.K.

Grade.	Imports.		Exports.		Consumption.			
	1913. Gallons.	1920. Gallons.	1913. Gallons.	1920. Gallons.	1913. Gallons.	1920. Gallons.	1913. Tons.	1920. Tons.
Crude petrol	1,298,827	3,186,813	—	245	1,298,827	3,186,568	5,412	13,277
Motor spirit	103,290,956	208,325,945	776,010	26,898,247	102,514,946	181,427,698	341,716	604,759
Ker's'ne	156,953,648	160,137,704	501,226	11,406,209	156,452,422	148,731,495	558,759	531,184
Lubricating oil	69,458,127	102,179,745	1,145,757	6,828,524	68,312,370	95,351,221	273,249	401,405
Gas oil	68,853,731	56,245,726	658,056	849,968	68,195,675	55,395,758	267,434	217,238
Fuel oil	88,327,226	339,349,352	1,247,258	5,543,787	87,079,968	333,805,565	368,983	1,414,430
Totals	488,182,515	869,425,285	4,328,307	51,526,980	483,854,208	817,898,305	1,815,553	3,182,293

INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATION REPORTS.

DURING 1921 the Reports of various sub-committees appointed by the Standing Committee on Trusts were published. What the Findings were will be seen from the particulars reproduced herewith.

Report on the Soap Industry.*

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

(1) There are in the soap trade three combinations, namely :—

(*a*) The Soap Makers' Federation,
(*b*) The United Soap Makers' Alliance,
(*c*) The United Kingdom Soap Manufacturers' Association,

of which the first two have no influence on prices and are no longer active bodies.

(2) The third combination, *i.e.*. The United Kingdom Soap Manufacturers' Association fixes—directly for non-proprietary and, in our opinion, indirectly for proprietary soaps—the manufacturers' and retail minimum prices for 80 per cent of the soaps sold in this country.

(3) Those prices become the recognised prices of practically all soaps sold in this country ; there is virtually no competition in price.

(4) Thirty-seven of the principal soap-making firms, responsible for at least 70 per cent of the total British output, constitute one group under the control of Lever Bros., Ltd.—referred to in the report as the "Lever Combine." The Lever Combine is responsible for 90 per cent of the output of the United Kingdom Soap Manufacturers' Association, and has a majority of representatives on the Council of the Association and on each of its committees.

(5) Excepting the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd., there are very few soap makers of any importance outside the Association or the Lever Combine.

(6) The Lever Combine dominates the Association and is in a position substantially to determine the price at which soap shall be sold in this country. This power is not seriously affected by the potential competition of independent makers in this country, nor is it, under present conditions at any rate, affected by the possibility of keener foreign competition. The only effective limit on raising of prices is the fear of reducing demand, and this has undoubtedly been operative to prevent full use of the power of the combine. There is nothing, however, to prevent the Lever Combine from maintaining soap prices definitely higher than they would have been had the companies remained unassociated under their own financial control.

(7) De-control, in March, 1919, of oils and fats was followed by a rapid rise in prices, which prices yielded inordinate profit to all branches of the trade in those commodities. Although throughout the period of the war—more than four years—when control of oils and fats (the price of which is the determining factor in the price of soap) was exercised by the Government, the total advance in the price of best household soap was 4½d. per lb. (from 3½d. to 8d.), the rapid increase in the price of oils and fats following de-control brought about, in less than one year, a further advance of 4d. per lb. (from 8d. to 1s. between March, 1919, and January, 1920).

(8) The prices of recent years (1913 to 1919) have been such as to allow Lever Bros. and other manufacturers, associated with them or not, to make on a very largely increased money turnover, not accompanied by increased output, profits per cent of turnover, which were :

(*a*) greater per cent than the profit on the pre-war turnover ;

(*b*) greater per cent than the profit of 10 per cent asked for as reasonable in 1918 by the Soapmakers' Federation themselves.

(9) Lever Bros. explained their large profits by the necessity of fixing their selling prices on the basis of replacement cost rather than the actual cost of the materials used ; they stated that unless this were done they would, in a time of rising prices, be flooded out with orders which they could not meet. The result of this policy, since replacement cost of raw materials is during a time of rising prices constantly above the actual cost, is that generally speaking large profits are made by holders of large stocks.

*[Cmd. 1126.] Price, 3d. net.

(10) Lever Bros. added that normally the policy of basing selling prices on replacement rather than actual cost of raw materials would be continued after prices had reached their maximum and were falling; that unless this were done those who held more extensive stocks of materials and tried to keep up the price would be undersold by other makers, and that the market should be followed down as well as up—the excessive profits made in good times being used to some extent to make up losses in bad times.

(11) In the present case, however, the policy of basing selling prices on replacement cost was abandoned as soon as the prices of raw materials began to fall. In August 1919 when the retail price of soap first reached 11d. per lb. the cost of raw materials per ton was £94. 10s. On December 20th, 1920, when the retail price was again 11d. per lb., the cost of raw materials was less than £50 per ton, *i.e.*, little more than half what they cost when soap first reached its present price. This difference is very much greater than can be accounted for by increase in manufacturing costs between the two dates. If replacement value were still taken as a costing basis, allowing increased manufacturing costs claimed by soapmakers and the 10 per cent profit on turnover that they themselves suggested in 1918, the selling price of best household soap to-day should be less than 9d. instead of the actual price of 11d. per lb. and the prices of other soaps should be proportionately lower than they are.

(12) Lord Leverhulme explained this change of policy by the fact that the bulk of the excess profits made during rising prices, instead of being available to meet losses now, were paid as Excess Profits Duties. The soapmakers were therefore —he explained—not in a position to follow the raw material market down as well as up. Even if this explanation be accepted we must point out :—

(*a*) that as a consequence the Excess Profits Duty is really being paid by the present consumers of soap;

(*b*) that shareholders have received enhanced dividends and large sums have been placed to reserve;

(*c*) that there is a provision of the Finance Act allowing losses or reduced profits to be set against earlier excess profits;

(*d*) that the United Kingdom Soap Manufacturers' Association is now in a position to fix soap prices above the replacement value level without fear of competition.

We take this last point as final demonstration of the complete power over prices possessed by Lever Bros. acting through the United Kingdom Soap Manufacturers' Association.

(13) While some improvements and economies of organisation have no doubt taken place through the extension of Lever Bros.' control, the evidence does not satisfy us that these economies have been substantial, or represent to the public any advantage comparable with the loss and danger involved to them in the fixing of excessive prices.

(14) Since the prices fixed by the Association will usually be such as to afford to the least efficient member of the Association a sufficient profit, the system of price fixing by the Association tends to protect inefficiency and to ensure added prosperity to the efficient; it prevents prices falling as low as they would under a competitive system. The benefit of any economies that may be made by a particular manufacturer is, as a rule, retained wholly by him in place of reaching the consumer.

(15) Lever Bros. have on several occasions acquired companies on such terms as provide for the payment of dividends higher than the acquired companies have hitherto paid or were able to pay even during the period of abnormal war-time profits. Unless, as a result of these acquisitions, Lever Bros. are able to increase the profits by :

(*a*) expanding the businesses and/or,

(*b*) effecting economies in production and/or in distribution,

—one or both of which they doubtless hope to do—the prices of one or more of the commodities produced or dealt in by the businesses in which Lever Bros. are interested will, if dividends are not to be reduced, have to be maintained at a figure higher than would have been necessary if the companies had not been so acquired. In most of the other businesses of Lever Bros. probably prices

could not be arbitrarily maintained, but in the case of the soap trade we have shown that Lever Bros. can maintain prices higher than would have been possible under a competitive system. The points dealt with in this paragraph are sufficient justification for our second recommendation made below.

(16) We recognise that Lever Bros., Ltd., have had, in the extension of their control, motives other than the mere raising of prices, and that the prices have not been raised to the highest possible limit; the Association has always borne in mind the importance of not reducing the demand. The price of soap, however, is now definitely higher than it would be if there were real competition of price between the soap makers, and over an average of years has been higher than is necessary to provide reasonable profits.

(17) There is no immediate prospect of the world's oils and fats market being controlled by Lever Bros., Ltd., or any other amalgamation.

(18) Soda ash, an essential ingredient in soap, is the subject of an agreement between the principal alkali manufacturers, by which price is agreed and respective percentages of deliveries allotted. Soda ash is not sold on a competitive basis and the existence and effects of combinations in the alkali industry are now being enquired into by the Standing Committee on Trusts. Any association or amalgamation or an agreement as to supply of alkali between only two companies, viz., Lever Bros. Ltd., and Brunner, Mond, & Co., might seriously prejudice, if it did not even jeopardise the existence of, independent soap makers in this country.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

(17) We therefore recommend that :—

(1) If the price of soap be not forthwith reduced by the manufacturers to a price based on the present market prices of raw materials and the costs of production, and a profit on turnover not exceeding the 10 per cent proposed by the Soap Makers' Federation in 1918, the Complaints Committee should be asked to take cognisance of this report, for their guidance in any complaints which may be made. In the present state of the raw material market and other costs the price for best household soap should, in our opinion, be not more than 9d. per lb.* In the case of many manufacturers holding large stocks of raw materials bought at higher prices such a policy would involve losses, entitling those manufacturers to claim a return of Excess Profits Duty.

(2) Parliament should authorise the Board of Trade to exercise surveillance over the existence, development and activities of trade combinations in this country, on the lines of the recommendations contained in the report, dated 24th April, 1919, of the Committee on Trusts, appointed by the Minister of Reconstruction in February, 1918.

To the above Report made on the 23rd December, 1920, the Committee added the following addendum on 12th January, 1921 :—

ADDENDUM.

Since our report was prepared we find that an all round reduction in the prices of soaps has been made and took effect to the consumer on 1st January, 1921. This reduction in the case of the retail price of best household soaps is 1d. per lb. At the same time we notice that the market price of raw materials has continued to fall and on the 3rd January, 1921, had reached a level which brought the mean value of one ton of raw materials to £47. 14s., *i.e.*, £2 less than the figure shown in our report as on 20th December, 1920. We think it necessary, therefore, to add that on the basis of the calculations and subject to the observations made in our report, the price of best household soap to-day should not be more than 8½d. per lb. instead of 10d., and the prices of other soaps should be proportionately lower than they are.

THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

In the body of their Report the Committee refer to the Co-operative Wholesale Society in the following terms :—

There is still another independent factor, viz., the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd., whose output, although much smaller than that of the chief soap makers, is larger than that of any soap maker outside the Association. Practically all the soap manufactured by the

* *See* Addendum dated January 12th, 1921.

Co-operative Wholesale Society is supplied to retail co-operative societies and, over the period investigated by us, their best household soap has been sold at prices lower than the prices of best household soaps of members of the United Kingdom Soap Manufacturers' Association—the difference ranging from £2. 10s. to £26 per ton. The Co-operative Wholesale Society's prices have, on a rising market, been based (broadly) on actual costs and on a falling market on replacement costs. Thus the Co-operative Wholesale Society have generally taken the lower of the two costs, which (as we shall show later in our report) is the exact reverse of what other soap makers have done. The sale of soap by the Society is not required to do more than aim at paying a fixed interest on capital.

Retail prices are not fixed by the Co-operative Wholesale Society, but each retail society fixes its own selling price. These retail prices vary with the societies and, from the information we have received we find that, like the wholesale prices, they are as a rule a little lower than the retail prices of all other makers. Moreover, the actual price over the counter is subject to a dividend or bonus (the amount of which also varies with the society), distributed periodically, *pro rata*, to the amount of their total purchases, among the members of the societies.

Although the sale of soaps by the Co-operative Wholesale Society is not required to provide profits such as other soap makers have received, and although in consequence the net selling prices of soaps manufactured by the Co-operative Wholesale Society are normally lower than those of other soap makers, this does not appear to have led to any appreciable increase in the volume of soap business done by the society. Having regard to all the circumstances therefore, we consider that the competition of the Co-operative Wholesale Society is not likely to become an effective check on the prices fixed by the United Kingdom Soap Manufacturers' Association unless those prices become very extravagant.

Report on Brushes and Brooms.*

After referring to the Tables in the Report showing that the net rate of profit on selling price is about 10 per cent on the household brushes, 16 per cent on the tooth brushes, and about 10 per cent on the decorators' brushes, the Committee records its conclusion as follows:

CONCLUSION.

We have reviewed all the evidence heard during the periods of the sittings of the Sub-Committee, on the cost of production of the various types of brushes as detailed in the opening paragraphs of this report.

On this evidence we find: "That the prices charged for these articles by the manufacturers are fair and reasonable, and the rates of profit earned are not in excess of the pre-war rates current in the Brush and Broom-making Trade."

Report on Pottery.*

CONCLUSIONS AND FINDINGS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

That the profits made in the industry would appear to be reasonable.

That although associations exist in practically every branch of the industry, we have found no evidence that any attempt has been made to raise prices without reasonable cause. Nevertheless, we feel very strongly that having regard to the fact that in this industry there exist associations, controlling 60 per cent or more of the industry, steps should be taken to safeguard the public interests. We therefore suggest that each of those associations which fixes selling prices should be required to obtain from its members at the end of each yearly period and deposit with the Board of Trade, a statement showing (1) the average trading profit and the average net profit in relation to the turnover of the industry in so far as it is covered by such association; (2) the average ratio of turnover to capital; (3) the average wages earned per hour of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labour.

Report on Dyeing and Cleaning.†

In their conclusions the Committee state *inter alia* :—

Although we have no evidence indicating that the associations in this trade have tended to raise prices against the public, we consider that the future activities of this in common with other trade associations or combinations should be subject to some form of surveillance on the part of the Board of Trade in the interests of the public as a whole.

* [Cmd. 1275.] Price, 2d. net.

* [Cmd. 1360.] Price, 2d. net.
† [Cmd. 1361.] Price, 2d. net.

Report on Dyeing, Finishing, Bleaching and Printing.*

THE SUB-COMMITTEE'S OBSERVATIONS ON INFORMATION FURNISHED.

It will be seen that the information furnished in these returns does not suffice for the forming of any conclusion as to the effect upon supplies, prices, costs and profits of the numerous trade combinations which exist in the dyeing, finishing, bleaching and printing trades. The figures given do not represent supplies, prices, costs or profits; neither do they give any absolute measure of comparison between combines and non-combine firms; they show only the percentage by which the prices, costs, and profits (on turnover, not on capital) of 1919 differed from those of 1913. We note that over the four sections of the industry taken as a whole prices or charges were advanced 207 per cent; and that profits in 1919 represented a somewhat less percentage of the total turnover of that year than the profits of 1913 did of the turnover in 1913. If it could be assumed that the poundage or yardage output of 1919 was the same as that of 1913 it could be deduced that the actual profit made was nearly three times as great in 1919 than in 1913 and that after deducting Excess Profits Duty the profits retained were roughly two and a half times as great—but no information is given as to the comparative turnovers in the two years in question, and, therefore, no definite deduction of the kind can be made on the strength of the information given in the returns. We note also that the "combines" advanced their prices or charges more than the "non-combines," that, none the less, their ratio of profit to turnover declined somewhat while that of the "non-combines" increased, and that they paid out a less proportion of their profits in Excess Profits Duty than did the "non-combines"; also that the costs per unit for fourteen firms increased in the period by 204 per cent, the increase in coal and dyewares being greater than the increase in wages, repairs, and overhead charges; but we can form no opinion from information of this kind as to "the effect of any trade combination, if found, upon supplies, prices, costs, and profits, at all stages of such processes."

* [Cmd. 1371.] Price, 1d. net.

CONCLUSION.

(9) We can accordingly do no more than record our regret that the dyeing, finishing, bleaching and printing trades of this country, acting through the medium of their allied association, should have considered it undesirable or inexpedient to furnish us with the information necessary to the execution of the duties with which we were charged.

Report on Dyes and Dyestuffs.*

CONCLUSIONS.

The summary of conclusions contains (*inter alia*) the following paragraphs:—

(1) There exists in the dyes and dye stuffs industry a trade combination, the British Dyestuffs Corporation Ltd., which comprises what was formerly British Dyes Ltd., and Levinstein Ltd., and which has a productive capacity equal to about 75 per cent of the total productive capacity of the country in dyes and dyestuffs.

(2) Although it subsequently transpired that other concerns, without State aid or participation, were able to develop their dyes production at a rate comparable with that of British Dyes Ltd., we are of opinion that the action taken by the Government in promoting and subscribing to British Dyes Ltd., was, in the circumstances of the time, well-advised and sound.

(9) The dividends paid by the associated concerns prior to amalgamation were not unduly large; the very considerable profits made in the war period were for the most part devoted to extensions and developments and writings off of capital expenditure. The profits made since the amalgamation have not, for a variety of unforeseeable causes, borne out the expectations held out in the Corporation's original prospectus.

(14) The prices charged by dye manufacturers during the war were higher than were justifiable on the basis of current costs of production. In some cases the profits were not distributed in the form of dividends but kept in the business in the form of extensions and developments of the works. In the case of the firms whose works were acquired by the Corporation, the shareholders had the advantage of these profits, because these extensions formed part of the assets for which value was received on their acquisition by the Corporation.

* [Cmd. 1370.] Price, 4d. net.

INTERNATIONAL SPORT.
THE LESSONS OF THE TEST MATCHES.

By J. R. Clegg.

THE year 1921 will always be remembered as one of the blackest in the history of English sport, chiefly because it revealed an amazing weakness on the cricket field in comparison with the Australians. Not in the long series of contests, dating back to 1877, has there ever been a time when the men from the Commonwealth were able to assert their superiority in a more masterful way than they did, not only in this country last summer, but in Australia before they sailed to resume the one-sided contests on English soil.

Whatever may have been the cause, nothing can alter the melancholy fact that the Australians succeeded in establishing the magnificent record of winning eight test matches off the reel. An unprecedented achievement in the history of the national game, it is one that calls for the appreciation of the whole athletic world. It may be that never again will one country succeed in establishing such a complete domination as the Australians did throughout successive seasons, first in their own fair land and afterwards in the Mother Country.

Undeniably, there were contributory causes, such as breakdowns in health and the phenomenally fine weather and the hard wickets in this country, but that is not to say that the Australians should be deprived of any of the credit which attaches to their wonderful feat. Candour compels the admission that they won these stern contests by virtue of being the better side in all departments of the game. To deny that is to be futile and false to all the traditions of the game. Wise men will readily concede it even though it creates a feeling of humiliation ; for it is only by a recognition of Australia's prowess and England's comparative weakness, and by steeling ourselves to face the facts that we can hope to avoid another such cataclysm in the future.

What Armstrong Thinks.

Warwick Armstrong, who led the Australians in their triumphs, has given his reasons why England failed in the Test matches that were played in this country. The question put to him was a blunt one and his answer was unequivocal. Nor was it hasty or random reply to an unexpected question put at a moment when he was off his guard. The Australian captain had, many hours previously, been definitely invited to grant an interview which, hitherto, he had denied to all.

This is what he said : " Your players were too old, and you had too many professionals." Further, he stated that some of the players chosen by England gave away in the field as many runs as they scored with the bat. More than anything else, he added, the methods of

the professionals were all against England's chances of winning a three-day match. The time was much too short for men who, being professionals, would play for themselves and not for their side.

Now, whatever truth there may be in these assertions, it is beyond contradiction that the man who made them has, through his successful captaincy, demonstrated his claim to be regarded as one of the best judges of the game. His leadership was beyond reproach and almost above criticism. It commanded the admiration of all unbiassed people in this country and, what was of greater interest to him, of the people in his own country who were opposed to his election as captain and who had fought him openly and overtly. Armstrong confided to me that for many years he had to encounter the enmity of a certain section of people having a voice in the councils of Australian cricket. These self-same critics had, he said, succeeded in driving out of first-class cricket three famous players, whose names he mentioned, and at the same time they were desirous of forcing him into the background. He resolved to stay on and fight them and, if possible, to beat them. Three months before he left Australia, on what will be his last cricket trip to England, he gained the day.

The point, however, is not whether Armstrong is a man of grit and determination, but whether his opinion is that of a person well qualified to form one of value to English cricket. Without any hesitation, I should say that, with the possible exception of A. C. MacLaren, there is not a more astute judge of cricket in the whole world than W. A. Armstrong, who had the inestimable advantage of learning the finer points of the game from such shrewd cricketers and captains as J. Darling and M. Noble.

The fact that he led his side from success to success, without making a single mistake worthy of recording and that his actions could always be justified even when they were vehemently called into question, aroused in certain quarters a feeling of envious irritation and childish resentment. If only Armstrong had allowed them to find the joint in his armour these people would have been quite happy and, perhaps, reconciled to defeat. The existence of this feeling was disclosed by the ill-considered, petulant, and, in one instance, insulting, replies to the statements of the Australian captain as to what was wrong with English test teams.

In some instances his statements were deliberately misconstrued to constitute an attack upon English professional cricketers as a class, and an effort was made to arouse the resentment of the men who accept payment for their services. This was unsuccessful, for the simple reason that the majority of the cricketers in this country must have realised that what Armstrong said was true, and was the only possible explanation for the failure of England to avert disaster in the first three of the five Test matches played in this country during the summer of 1921.

Criticism Resented.

The M.C.C., the ruling authority in English cricket, is a conservative institution. Perhaps, because of this, it has always seemed to be touchy and resentful on the subject of criticism, even when it has been advanced by men world-famous as cricketers, and notwithstanding that criticism, if constructive, is invariably helpful. On the other hand those responsible for the management of professional football and indeed all kinds of football played under the Association code have welcomed, rather than objected to, free and frank discussion of their actions, and the sequel has been a truly amazing growth in the popularity of the game. It is hardly too much to say that this form of sport has been criticised into a state of unrivalled prosperity. By comparison, those who have ventured to express doubts and question methods where cricket is concerned have been silent.

Nevertheless, a few men well qualified to express opinions on the subject have, from time to time, ventured to point out to the cricket authorities that all is not well with English cricket. The late A. G. Steel, K.C., one of the best all-round cricketers of his day, writing at, what was supposed to be, a time of crisis in the history of the game, asked the question how it was that the public did not go to watch the game as of old ? He had, he said, heard some say that it was due to golf and its attractions. This he refused to believe. " I have no doubt myself," he went on to say, " that the slackness of the public in going to watch first-class cricket is due to the nature of the play itself. What the public find dull and unattractive is the batting. There is one cause only for this terribly unattractive play and that is the use of the legs in protecting the wicket." If the old Lancastrian had lived to watch the last series of Test matches he would have been more than ever confirmed in his judgment.

More recently, A. C. MacLaren, taking for his text the words " Our geese are not swans," used these words : " It appears to be the fashion to-day to exaggerate the merits of our men somewhat, and to shut one's eyes to those of our opponents. Even those who have played for England appear to prefer to bluff the man in the street rather than give him what he wants—the plain truth." The former Lancashire captain always took leave to throw doubts upon the composition of the English team last sent out to Australia and, after they had dismally fulfilled his expectations by losing the rubber, he wrote : " The Australians have proved, once again, that youth, after a little experience, will always beat the over 40 brigade. Don't let us block out our youths for old 'uns past their youth."

The pity of it was that this appeal fell on deaf ears. The three ex-county captains entrusted with the unenviable task of choosing the Test match teams, not only largely relied upon men of middle age, but pinned their faith to professionals. They were always in the majority —three as to one on the average. Whether the members of the Selection Committee were free agents or not, I am not prepared to say.

The probabilities are that they were influenced by others. Certain it is that they took into their calculations the performances of the hour. But what was of more importance than anything else was that no one responsible for the reputation of English cricket during last summer appeared to have any settled convictions as to the best methods of countering the Australians when they visited this country. All the lessons taught by the bitter experience in the Dominion appeared to be unheeded. It was known that some of the causes of our failure in the Antipodes were errors of captaincy, weak bowling, and indifferent fielding. The number of catches missed, especially in the slips, was deplorable, and yet it was not made a *sine quâ non* that every player chosen must have some pretensions to be considered a good fieldsman in one position or another. On the contrary, players who had never or rarely distinguished themselves in the field were chosen, with the inevitable consequence that precious opportunities were lost, notably in the second Test match, at Lords. On the strength of two or three striking exhibitions of batting, players were chosen, and in due course sent to field in an unaccustomed position with the consequence that valuable runs were thrown away. It is possible to exaggerate an estimate of how many runs the Australians saved, and how many England threw away, but the number was so considerable as to make it a matter of certainty that the home country cannot hope to recover the "Ashes" until the balance has been adjusted.

Almost from beginning to end there was nothing but a haphazard nervous selection of players. This was well nigh unavoidable in the absence of any settled policy respecting the nature and composition of the team. For instance, there was no expressed realisation of the need for a side whose aggregate age did not exceed that of the victorious Australians. Some such team could have been, and ought to have been selected as early as possible, preferably after at least one trial match in order to test the temperament as well as the playing ability of the players.

For good or ill that team ought to have been kept together. That it would have looked like throwing these younger men to the lions at Nottingham I am free to admit. Equally merciless might it have appeared to be to send the same players into the arena at Lords, and no matter how people might have blanched at the spectacle on both occasions, the cold fact remains that the selected team with youth on its side could not, by any stretch of imagination, have done worse than the men who did take the field at Trent Bridge and at headquarters. Few well-wishers of England who saw the ghastly beginnings of those two matches will ever efface from their memories the feelings of despair and humiliation that welled up as they watched the laboured and nerveless efforts of the men who were supposed to be of the authentic breed. There was cause for bitter regret, not solely because the opportunity of trying out a young and settled side, but also because the failures had allowed the tourists to retain their moral ascendency. From the

effects of those first two defeats England did not recover until it was too late and the " Ashes " had been lost for the second time in succession.

The morale of England was probably at its lowest at Lords, where even the middle-aged men, chosen in the belief that they would face Gregory and Macdonald, the fast bowlers, without flinching, were, on the whole, routed by their conquering opponents. Something heroic might have been attempted for the third and most critical match at Leeds, but no. More " tried and trusty men " were picked. True, they put up a better fight under depressing circumstances, but if defeat did not come so swiftly and decisively as it did in the earlier matches, it came, and before the middle of June it was known that England had again lost the rubber.

Democratic Ideas Wanted.

Out of tribulation may come joy, if only the oft-repeated lesson is learned. One thing is as plain as the proverbial pike-staff and that is that if the lost prestige of English cricket is to be regained cricketers will have to be developed on all-round lines. It ought not to suffice that a player can bat or bowl well; he should be called upon to combine good fielding with one or both of his accomplishments. To this end, a more systematic plan of coaching should be instituted. This should not be confined to the public schools and universities. According to Armstrong, cricket is a more democratic game in Australia than it is in England. Every player in the Commonwealth has an opportunity of becoming a test-match player. Young cricketers of promise are nursed and encouraged. Signs there are in England that in future the counties will recognise the value of scientific coaching, and it may be that the example of Lancashire in appointing A. C. MacLaren to be instructor and mentor will be generally followed. He will give special attention to and will captain the Second XI. Further, he will take in hand the school boys who are sons of members and, if it is desired, as it should be, that he should keep an eye on them, he will doubtless take in hand any promising youngster who is developing in more humble spheres.

Before the Australians visit England again, in 1924, the advice and co-operation of the famous cricketer may have left their mark upon Lancashire cricket. And others qualified to instruct may have helped to elevate the standard of play, but whether or not, it must be understood that if England is to escape another sound drubbing at the hands of the men from " down under," there must be a resort to younger players and some plan by which they can be schooled for the trying ordeal of a test match. As far as practicable, the players should be selected to take part in the representative matches of the next two seasons. The nucleus of a team, if not the actual team, should always be in the mind's eye of the M.C.C., or a special committee, and, what is more, an attempt should be made to find out as soon as possible who is best qualified to lead the side.

THE HON. H. L. TENNYSON AND WARWICK ARMSTRONG

About to Toss for Choice of Innings in the Fourth Test Match, played at Old Trafford, Manchester, July, 1921.

Photo: Keystone.

THE NEW RUSSIA: A SOVIET GATHERING IN PETROGRAD.

TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

THAT the trade between Russia and the United Kingdom is steadily growing in volume may be seen from the particulars given in "Russian Information and Review"—(published by the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation)—regarding the purchases and sales made by the All-Russian Co-operative Society, "Arcos," the official Russian trading institution in the country.

Thus during the period of ten months from January 1st to October 31st, 1921, the total purchases made in the United Kingdom amounted in value to £4,346,705, whilst the sales of Russian products in the United Kingdom amounted to £763,894 during the same period. It should be made clear that goods to the value of £2,000,000 bought by Russia in the United Kingdom at the end of 1920 are not included in the above; part of these goods was actually shipped only in 1921, so that the goods actually shipped from January 1st to October 31st amounted to £4,533,242.

In the list of items purchased between January 1st and October 31st, 1921, cloth and foodstuffs constitute the chief—the purchases of cloth having amounted to £2,183,070, and those of foodstuffs to £2,199,422; whilst the next category of importance is that of agricultural machinery, implements and ironmongery, the purchases of which figured at £440,636.

As regards the sales of Russian produce in the United Kingdom in 1921, it may be noted that these amounted to £1,136,025 by the 18th of November; the most important item being timber (£683,860), after which come flax, hemp, and tow (£202,035), and oil (£121,756).

"Apart altogether from these purchases made in the United Kingdom, the All-Russian Co-operative Society in London has made purchases abroad, namely in America and Germany, amounting to over £2,300,000, for the period up to September 30th, 1921. This includes £328,000 for coal purchased in America during the coal stoppage in Great Britain in the early part of the year; £290,000 for agricultural machines from America; and £274,000 for chemicals mainly from Switzerland and Germany. In many of these purchases, British tonnage is employed for the transport of the goods to Russia, although the United Kingdom does not otherwise benefit from these transactions."

THE POPULATION OF RUSSIA.

THE following official figures (based on the census of 1920) show the total population of the Russian Soviet Republic at July 1st, 1921:—

Region.	Population (all ages).			Children under 16 years of age.
	Total.	Town.	Country.	
Central Russia	54,168,900	6,935,900	47,233,000	25,098,600
Petrograd region and the North	5,018,000	1,238,300	3,797,200	2,247,100
The Urals	9,117,200	1,387,500	7,729,600	4,186,200
Siberia and the Kerghis Republic	14,317,100	1,437,200	12,870,900	6,667,300
South East and Caucasus	13,377,100	2,603,400	10,773,700	6,086,600
Ukraine and the Crimea.....	27,448,300	6,518,700	20,920,600	11,964,000
Turkestan	7,261,000	1,130,200	6,130,400	3,338,300
Total	130,707,600	21,252,200	109,455,400	59.588,100

Of the children under 16 years of age, 52,537,300 dwell in the country, and 7,050,800 in the towns.

The extension of education is shown by the existence of 91,500 elementary and secondary schools with 7,200,000 pupils on January 1st, 1921, as compared with 63,317 schools and 4,706,284 pupils in 1919, and 47,855 schools and 3,060,400 pupils in 1911.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

The following figures show the value of the Total Imports, Net Imports, and Exports of Merchandise into and from the United Kingdom, with the Proportion thereof per Head of Total Population, from 1913 to 1919.

Years	Imports.						Exports.				
	Total Imports. †			Net Imports. (Total Imports *less* Re-Exports.)			Of United Kingdom Produce.			Of Foreign and Colonial Produce.	Total Exports.
	Total Value.	Proportion per Head of Population of United Kingdom.		Total Value.	Proportion per Head of Population of United Kingdom.		Total Value.	Proportion per Head of Population of United Kingdom.			
	£	£ s. d.		£	£ s. d.		£	£ s. d.		£	£
1905	565,019,917	13	2 11	487,240,004	11	6 9	329,816,614	7	13 6	77,779,913	407,596,527
1906	607,888,500	14	0 5	522,786,020	12	1 2	375,575,338	8	13 3	85,102,480	460,677,818
1907	645,807,942	14	15 4	553,865,858	12	13 3	426,035,083	9	14 10	91,942,084	517,977,167
1908	592,953,487	13	8 9	513,329,790	11	12 8	377,103,824	8	10 11	79,623,697	456,727,521
1909	624,704,957	14	0 8	533,360,138	11	19 7	378,180,347	8	9 11	91,344,819	469,525,166
1910	678,257,024	15	2 0	574,495,979	12	15 10	430,384,772	9	11 8	103,761,045	534,145,817
1911	680,157,527	15	0 2	577,398,393	12	14 9	454,119,298	10	0 5	102,759,134	556,878,432
1912	744,640,631	16	7 3	632,902,940	13	18 2	487,223,439	10	14 2	111,737,691	598,961,130
1913	768,734,739	16	16 4	659,159,702	14	8 5	525,245,289	11	9 10	109,575,037	634,820,326
1914*	696,635,113	15	2 4	601,160,947	13	0 10	430,721,357	9	6 11	95,474,166	526,195,523
1915*	851,893,350		—	752,831,169		—	384,868,448		—	99,062,181	483,930,629
1916*	948,506,492		—	850,940,314		—	506,279,707		—	97,566,178	603,845,885
1917*	1,064,164,678		—	994,487,217		—	527,079,746		—	69,677,461	596,757,207
1918*	1,316,150,903		—	1,285,205,822		—	501,418,997		—	30,945,081	532,364,078
1919*	1,626,156,212	35	4 8	1,461,406,911	31	13 3	798,635,376	17	6 1	164,749,301	963,384,677

These Accounts are exclusive of Bullion and Specie and of Foreign Merchandise transhipped under Bond.

* In respect of the figures of Imports and Exports given in this Abstract, it should be noted that, in July, 1917, and subsequently, the Accounts include merchandise imported and exported in public as well as in private ownership, except exports for the use of His Majesty's Forces on active service.

The figures for the period from August, 1914, to June, 1917, inclusive, include, in the case of imports, all articles of food, but do not include other goods which, at the time of importation, were known to be the property of H.M. Government or the Governments of the Allies. In the case of goods exported, the figures for this period include goods bought in the United Kingdom by, or on behalf of, the Governments of the Allies, but do not include goods taken from British Government stores and depots or goods bought by H.M. Government and shipped on Government vessels.

† Exclusive of the value of the diamonds imported into the United Kingdom from the Union of South Africa.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1919 AND 1920.

The comparative figures for 1919 and 1920 are as follows:—

	Calendar Year.		Increase or Decrease in 1920.	
	1919. £	1920. £	£	Per cent.
Imports	1,626,156,212	1,936,742,120	+310,585,908	+19·1
British Exports	798,638,362	1,335,569,027	+536,930,665	+67·1
Re-Exports	164,746,315	222,405,957	+ 57,659,642	+34·9
Total Exports	963,384,677	1,557,974,984	+594,590,307	+61·8
Excess of Imports over Total Exports	662,771,535	378,767,136	−284,004,399	−42·6

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1920—1921 (NINE MONTHS).

The figures for the nine months ended September 30th, 1921, as compared with the corresponding period in 1920 are as follows:—

	1920.	1921.	—Decrease in 1921.	
	£	£	£	Per cent.
Imports	1,501,412,239	827,678,470	—673,733,769	—44·6
British Exports	1,007,278,036	518,661,311	—488,616,725	—48·5
Re-Exports	180,458,482	77,639,668	—102,818,814	—57·0
Total Exports	1,187,736,518	596,300,979	—591,435,539	—49·6
Excess of Imports over Total Exports	313,675,721	231,377,491	— 82,298,230	—26·3

QUANTITIES OF PRINCIPAL EXPORTS.

The following figures show the volume of some of the leading exports in the nine months ended September, 1921, as compared with the corresponding periods of 1920 and 1913.

	1913.	1920.	1921.
Coal ..... Tons	54,517,758	19,851,555	13,351,554
Cotton Yarn ..... Lbs.	154,761,750	118,447,700	90,592,600
Cotton Piece Goods *	5,350,278,900	3,540,677,100	1,886,341,100
Woollen Tissues *	81,997,400	151,721,800	55,449,900
Linen Piece Goods*	142,207,300	81,827,400	24,720,900
Jute Piece Goods*	129,668,700	120,587,900	47,185,900

* Yards in 1913; square yards in 1920 and 1921.

SHIPOWNERS' PROFITS.

IN view of the reduction of wages of ship stewards, &c., the following particulars of profits made by some of the prominent shipping concerns are of special interest.

Company.	Present Paid-up Capital.	Bonus Shares issued.	Total Profits 1914-20.	Present Total Reserves.
	£	£	£	£
Furness, Withy & Co.	5,500,000	2,000,000	5,846,600	1,800,000
Royal Mail S.P.	6,800,000	Nil	4,102,600	1,881,900
Cunard S.S.	6,956,200	1,485,400	9,595,000	1,250,000
Booth S.S.	1,300,000	750,000	776,400	296,300
Anchor Line	575,000	Nil	1,871,500	1,200,000
White Star Line	5,000,000	1,250,000	9,873,000	1,680,000
	£26,131,200	£5,485,400	£32,065,100	£8,108,200

FACTORIES and WORKSHOPS STATISTICS 1910—1920.

Subject.	1920.	1914.	1910.
Authorised Staff (Inspectors and Assistants)	237	222	200
Expenditure* (excluding Central Office Clerks and Pensions)	£169,708	£103,594	£94,461
Registered Factories and Workshops—			
Factories	140,064	123,058	112,370
Workshops	141,971	153,797	152,772
†Total	282,035	276,855	265,142
Docks, &c. (Registered occupiers)	3,913	4,168	4,051
Warehouses	4,679	4,672	4,628
Humid Textile Factories under s. 96	320	315	294
Works or Departments under Regulations or Special Rules	90,625	74,120	44,474
Works under Particulars Section—			
Textile Factories	8,717	8,204	7,987
Textile Workshops	2,461	2,059	1,933
Non-textile	28,640	28,678	22,467
Effective Visits to—			
Factories	173,460	187,840	169,522
Workshops	160,061	238,594	220,244
Other places under the Act	13,344	15,676	22,853
Places not under the Act	22,668	28,632	24,966
Effective Visits before or after legal hours	22,230	42,629	47,183
Factories and Workshops visited—			
Once	159,284	182,175	‡
More than once	52,211	71,545	‡
Prosecutions (cases)	1,081	2,852	3,644
Certifying Surgeons	2,328	2,364	2,248
Medical Examinations—			
For employment of—Children under 14	31,537	‡	36,058
Young persons, 13-14	68,556	‡	81,402
,, 14-16	335,104	‡	305,735
For employment at night: Boys over 16	1,440	‡	—
Under Regulations, Special Rules, &c.§	225,678	‡	214,079
Accidents reported—			
Fatal	1,404	1,287	1,080
On basis of one day of incapacitation	43,012	51,276	42,714
On basis of one week of incapacitation	94,286	107,309	85,756
Dangerous Occurrences	2,019	2,595	792
Poisoning reported by—			
Occupiers	399	433	440
Certifying Surgeons	476	511	573
Practitioners	201	312	354
Notices received—			
Overtime reports	18,197	‡	232,995
Other	202,097	290,044	283,609
Notices to District Councils—			
Representations	10,629	9,889	7,458
Occupation of Workshops	12,565	13,261	19,928
Contravention Notices (to occupiers)	138,315	192,001	157,640

* The expenditure is that of the financial year commencing April 1st.

† Docks, wharves, quays, warehouses (s. 104); "buildings" (s. 105); railway lines and sidings (s. 106); men's workshops, homework premises, and factories and workshops under the charge of H.M. Inspectors of Mines, are not included.

§ Including examinations made by Appointed Surgeons and voluntary examinations.

‡ Figures not obtained or not tabulated.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.

THE following particulars with regard to the United Kingdom (including Islands in the British Seas) show the trend of affairs since 1913. The diminished average is notable, and especially when the reduced purchasing power of the sovereign is taken into account.

Year.	Due to Depositors at end of Year.	Number of Accounts open at end of year.		Average Amount due to each Depositor.	
		Active.	Dormant.	In Active Accounts.	In Dormant Accounts.
	£			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1913	187,248,167	9,180,950	4,017,659	20 7 0	0 2 1
1914	190,533,208	9,281,370	4,233,444	20 9 8	0 2 0
1915	186,327,584	9,971,675	4,208,411	18 12 10	0 2 0
1916	196,655,159	10,555,626	4,191,195	18 11 10	0 2 0
1917	203,262,059	11,037,277	4,178,547	18 7 7	0 2 0
1918	234,633,323	11,829,651	4,168,724	19 16 0	0 2 0

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

THE following figures are indicative of the position with regard to the Trustee Savings Banks of the United Kingdom :—

Year.	Due to Depositors at end of Year.	Number of Accounts open on the 20th November each year.	Average amount due to each Depositor.
	£		£ s. d.
1913	52,258,861	1,912,820	28 7 4
1914	53,943,271	1,917,944	28 2 6
1915	51,412,370	1,966,730	26 2 10
1916	53,783,998	2,015,894	26 13 7
1917	52,349,367	2,046,996	25 11 6
1918	60,983,309	2,128,628	28 13 0
1919	71,918,367	2,220,373	32 7 10

THE PUBLIC TRUSTEE.

FOR the year ending March 31st, 1921, the total number of trusts under administration was recorded at 14,919, and the total nominal value thereof at £143,000,000.

From 1909-10 to 1915-16 the Public Trustee's Office was self-supporting and showed an annual surplus, but in recent years there has been an increasing deficit. In 1916-17 the deficit was £3,092, in 1918-19 to £52,000, and in the year ending March 31st, 1921, the deficit has reached £114,890.

INCREASE OF DIVORCE.

THE number of divorces and other matrimonial suits (in the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division) amounted to 2,689 in 1918 and to 5,763 in 1919, an increase of 3,074 or 114 per cent. As compared with the figures for 1913, the figure for 1919 signified an increase of 355 per cent. Of the 5,763 cases in 1919, there were 4,133 petitions by husbands and 1,630 by wives. The poor persons' suits numbered 2,341.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

ACCORDING to the Report (Cmd. 1451) of the Board of Education for the year 1919-20 the number of schools in England and Wales comprised 20,971 public elementary schools, 478 special schools, and 52 certified efficient schools, or 21,501 schools altogether.

The number and accommodation of public elementary schools, Council and Voluntary, in England and Wales, in 1920, as compared with 1903 are recorded as follows :—

Year.	Council Schools.		Voluntary Schools.		Total.	
	Number.	Accn.	Number.	Accn.	Number.	Accn.
1903....	5,975	3,065,169(*a*)	14,238	3,722,317 (*a*)	20,213	6,787,486 (*a*)
1920....	8,705(*c*)	4,354,951(*b*)	12,266 (*c*)	2,731,026 (*b*)	20,971 (*c*)	7,085,977 (*b*)

(*a*) Before re-assessment on the basis of 10 square feet per head for older children and 9 square feet for younger children.

(*b*) After re-assessment.

(*c*) Including 41 Higher Elementary Schools (40 Council and 1 Voluntary).

The total number of scholars on the books of Public Elementary (including Higher Elementary) Schools, Special Schools, and Certified Efficient Schools in England and Wales on January 31st, 1919, was 5,917,854, of whom 221,862 were under 5 years of age, 4,582,760 of five and under twelve, and 1,113,232 of twelve and over.

The average attendance at Public Elementary (including Higher Elementary) Schools was 5,198,488 on the 31st March, 1920, as compared with 5,123,526 on the 31st of March, 1919.

The Government estimates for elementary education in England and Wales for 1920-21 figured at £58,730,864, and for 1921-22 at £63,648,720 ; whilst the estimates for higher education amounted to £13,468,731 for 1920-21, and to £11,086,778 for 1921-22.

As regards the amounts contributed in rates and taxes for the maintenance of public education as administered by the Board of Education, this may be seen from the comparative figures recorded by the Minister of Education, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher.

	£		£		£
1913–14	16,185,306	..	15,614,880	..	31,800,186
1918–19	21,780,294	..	20,385,897	..	42,166,191
1921–22	32,719,051	..	51,966,065	..	84,685,116

OUTPUT OF COAL.

THE figures of coal output for the first three quarters of the current year, and the average number of persons employed during each quarter, are officially recorded as follows :—

Quarter ended—	Output in tons.	Average number of persons employed.
31st March, 1920	62,103,000	 1,188,500
30th June, 1920	58,166,000	 1,200,300
30th September, 1920	59,467,000	 1,207,800

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Old Age Pensions are now granted on the following scale :—

10s. per week where the yearly income does not exceed £26. 5s.
8s. ,, ,, ,, ranges between £26. 5s. and £31. 10s.
6s. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, £31. 10s. and £36. 15s.
4s. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, £36. 15s. and £42.
2s. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, £42 and £47. 5s.
1s. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, £47. 5s. and £49. 17s. 6d.

When the income exceeds £49. 17s. 6d. per week no pension can be claimed.

The amount paid in Old Age Pensions during the year ended March 31st, 1921, was a little over £25,000,000, and the number of pensioners on the last Friday in March, 1921, was 1,002,342 (353,794 men and 648,548 women), of whom 936,517 drew the maximum rate of 10s. per week.

It may be noted that persons completely incapacitated by blindness from following their occupation are entitled to claim an old age pension at 50 years of age.

POOR RELIEF.

MEAN NUMBERS* OF PERSONS IN RECEIPT OF RELIEF IN ENGLAND AND WALES, and the rates per 1,000 of the estimated population.

YEARS ENDED MARCH.	Mean number of Persons (not being Lunatics in County and Borough Asylums, Registered Hospitals, and Licensed Houses, or Casuals) in receipt of				Mean number of Persons in Receipt of Relief (including Lunatics in Asylums, &c., and Casuals).‡	
	Institutional Relief.		Domiciliary Relief.			
	Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of estimated Population.	Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of estimated Population.	Mean Numbers.	Rates per 1,000 of estimated Population.
1906	247,758	7·3	549,796	16·2	891,637	26·2
1907	250,544	7·3	542,160	15·8	886,886	25·8
1908	255,958	7·4	540,098	15·6	892,972	25·7
1909	267,130	7·6	550,878	15·7	916,245	26·1
1910	275,075	7·8	539,642	15·2	916,377	25·9
1911	275,070†	7·7	507,921†	14·2	886,177†	24·8
1912	267,426	7·4	408,106	11·3	780,329	21·6
1913	265,410	7·3	411,575	11·3	783,916	21·5
1914	254,624	6·9	387,208	10·5	748,019	20·3
1915	252,525	6·8	391,915	10·6	752,040	20·3
1916	225,767	6·1	364,888	9·8	695,600	18·7
1917	213,447	5·7	327,663	8·7	642,463	17·1
1918	199,422	5·3	302,431	8·0	596,163	15·9
1919	184,167	4·9	285,237	7·6	555,639	14·8
1920	180,927	4·8	297,834	7·9	563,045	15·0

* The mean numbers shown in this table for any year are the mean of the numbers relieved on or about the 1st January of that year, and on or about the 1st July preceding, except that the number of lunatics in county and borough asylums, registered hospitals, and licensed houses on the 1st July, not having been ascertained for any year later than 1915, has for the purposes of the table been taken to have been in each of those years, a number mid-way between the ascertained numbers for the preceding and succeeding 1st January.

† A number of persons (chiefly persons receiving domiciliary relief) ceased to be dependent on poor law relief in 1911 in consequence of the cessation as from 31st December, 1910, of the disqualification for old-age pension attaching to the receipt of such relief. The number of persons formerly in receipt of relief in institutions who became pensioners in January, 1911, was 5,077, while the number of persons formerly in receipt of domiciliary relief who then became pensioners was 117,338. The total number of persons over 70 years of age in receipt of relief in institutions decreased from 57,701 at 1st January 1910, to 38,225 at 1st January, 1920. The number of persons over 70 years of age in receipt of domiciliary relief decreased from 138,223 at 1st January, 1910, to 8,621 at 1st January, 1920.

‡ Persons who received both institutional and domiciliary relief on the same day are not counted twice in the total.

In Scotland the mean number of persons in receipt of parish relief declined from 109,304 in 1906, to 83,438 in 1919. In Ireland the mean number of persons in receipt of relief (indoor and outdoor) declined from 101,391 in 1906 to 60,506 in 1919.

EXPENDITURE ON DRINK.

THE following particulars with regard to the consumption and cost of intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom are given in the annual report for 1920 of the United Kingdom Alliance, in which it is estimated that the amount spent on drink in the United Kingdom in 1920 amounted to £469,700,000, as compared with £386,000,000 in 1919 and £166,000,000 in 1913.

The particulars are as follows:—

	Consumption 1919.	Consumption 1920.	Cost in 1920. £
British spirits, at 130s. per proof gallon....	16,092	16,699	108,543,000
Other ditto	5,629	5,449	35,418,000
	21,721	22,148	143,961,000
Beer, at 168s. per bulk barrel	32,315	35,019	194,159,000
Wine, at 40s. per gallon	19,212	15,159	30,318,000
Cider and perry, at 5s. per gallon	3,466	5,099	1,275,000
			£469,713,000

The expenditure per head of the population was approximately £10, and per adult of 21 years and upwards (including abstainers) £16. 16s., as against £3. 12s. 6d. and £5. 19s. in 1913. The expenditure for each of the three kingdoms, though not capable of strict statistical verification, was probably about:—

	Total. £	Per head. £ s. d.
England and Wales	391,000,000 ..	10 7 0
Scotland	45,000,000 ..	9 3 0
Ireland	34,000,000 ..	7 12 0

The total consumption of absolute alcohol in 1920 was approximately 69,500,000 gallons, as compared with 60,000,000 gallons in 1919, 37,000,000 gallons in 1918, and 92,000,000 gallons in 1913. Of this quantity 77·5 per cent was consumed as beer, 18·1 per cent as spirits, and 4·4 per cent as wine, cider, and perry. The taxation collected by the trade from consumers was: Spirits, £71,000,000; beer, £123,000,000; wine, £3,000,000—£197,000,000 in all.

The following table shows, since 1913, the total drink bills, the total liquor taxation thereout, the percentage which such taxation bears to the respective totals, and the net drink bills:—

Year.	Total drink bill 000	Total Taxation 000	Percentage of taxation to total	Net Drink bill 000
	£	£		£
1913	166,700	38,200	23	128,500
1914	164,500	39,900	24¼	124,600
1915	182,000	60,800	33	121,200
1916	204,000	53,900	26	150,100
1917	259,000	34,400	13	224,600
1918	259,300	49,000	18¾	210,300
1919	386,000	122,000	31½	264,000
1920	469,700	197,000	42	272,700

The following comparisons (it is further stated) may be of interest: National drink bill, £469,700,000; education—rates and taxes, £97,206,548; assessable value of England and Wales (1920), £223,660,000; rates collected, England and Wales (1921), £149,000,000; national debt services, £345,000,000; navy, army, and air forces, £230,400,000; pensions, £123,235,000; bread subsidy, £45,000,000; old-age pensions, £25,969,000.

CRIME STATISTICS.

THE statistics of crime in England and Wales in recent years compare very favourably with those of pre-war days. Thus the total number of criminal offenders tried in the Superior Courts amounted in 1913 to 13,125. In 1916 the number was 5,282 (the lowest figure), and in 1917, 1918, and 1919 respectively the figures were 5,769, 6,047, and 8,002; so that, despite the increase since 1916, the figure is still considerably below that of pre-war days. Of the 8,002 persons tried in the Superior Courts in 1919, 6,838 were males and 1,164 females. The total convictions amounted to 6,311, and the acquittals (exclusive of persons found and detained as insane) to 1,633, as compared with 10,799 convictions and 2,287 acquittals in 1913.

In Scotland the number of persons brought up for trial in the Superior Courts numbered 1,294 in 1919, as compared with 1,358 in 1913, whilst the number of convictions amounted to 1,018, or six more than in 1913.

In Ireland the number of persons tried in the Superior Courts was 1,479 in 1919, as against 2,238 in 1913.

Coming next to the crimes dealt with in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction the trend of things is shown by the comparative figures for indictable offences for England and Wales. Thus in 1913 the total number of persons apprehended or summoned for indictable offences amounted to 69,265 (57,736 males and 11,529 females), and in 1919 to 57,379 (46,870 males and 10,509 females), the figure for 1919 being the lowest recorded for the century. In 1919 there were 25,308 convicted, 8,288 committed for trial, and 23,783 acquitted, discharged, and otherwise disposed of, as compared with 27,120 convicted, 12,557 committed for trial, and 29,588 acquitted, etc., in 1913. In Scotland the number of persons proceeded against for indictable offences amounted to 24,726 in 1913, to 18,878 in 1918, and to 19,244 in 1919; whilst the number of convictions was 17,618, 13,518, and 14,015 for the three respective years mentioned.

In Ireland the number of persons apprehended or summoned for indictable offences was 7,294 in 1913, and 4,431 in 1919, the low figure in 1919 constituting a record. The convictions for 1913 and 1919 were respectively 2,185 and 1,143.

As regards *non-indictable* offences the number of persons apprehended or summoned and dealt with in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction in England and Wales was 687,600 in 1913, 434,347 in 1918, and 522,448 in 1919, whilst the convictions therewith amounted to 542,827 in 1913, to 299,607 in 1918, and to 397,149 in 1919.

In Scotland the number of persons apprehended or summoned for non-indictable offences was 147,335 in 1913, and 60,494 in 1918, and in 1919 81,149; the convictions for the three years figuring at 106,942, 36,049, and 54,425 respectively.

In Ireland the number of persons apprehended or summoned for non-indictable offences was 178,674 in 1913, and 96,998 in 1919, the latter being a record figure. In 1919 there were 79,051 convictions, as compared with 150,338 in 1913.

INCREASE OF BIGAMY.

THE remarkable increase in bigamy since pre-war days is shown in the following figures, indicating the number of cases per year:—

Year.	Cases.	Year.	Cases.	Year.	Cases.
1914	130	1916	317	1918	593
1915	211	1917	435	1919	917

As the number of cases in 1913 numbered 133, it will be seen that the figure for 1919 indicates an increase of 589 per cent.

BIRTHS AND BIRTH-RATES.

The following is the official record of births for the period 1911-1919 : —

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1911	881,138	121,850	101,758	1,104,746
1912	872,737	122,790	101,035	1,096,562
1913	881,890	120,516	100,094	1,102,500
1914	879,096	123,934	98,806	1,101,836
1915	814,014	114,181	95,583	1,024,378
1916	785,520	109,935	91,437	986,892
1917	668,340	97,482	86,405	852,157
1918	662,661	98,550	87,304	848,515
1919	692,438	106,268	89,235	888,031

The abnormal reduction of births since 1914 points to the effects of the war on the natality of the United Kingdom.

BIRTH-RATES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Year.	England. and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1911	24·3	25·6	23·2	24·4
1912	23·9	25·9	23·0	24·1
1913	24·1	25·5	22·8	24·1
1914	23·8	26·1	22·6	23·9
1915	21·9*	23·9	22·0	22·1*
1916	20·9*	22·8	21·1	21·1*
1917	17·8*	20·1	19·9	18·2*
1918	17·7*	20·2	19·9	18·1*
1919	18·5*	21·7	20·0	19·0*

*Based upon total populations specially estimated for the purpose.

MARRIAGES.

Herewith are the figures denoting the number of marriages each year, along with the rate per 1,000 of the population, during the period 1911-18 :—

Year.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		United Kingdom.	
1911	274,943	15·2	31,844	13·4	23,473	10·7	330,260	14·6
1912	283,834	15·6	32,506	13·7	23,283	10·6	339,623	14·9
1913	286,583	15·7	33,691	14·3	22,266	10·2	342,540	15·0
1914	294,401	15·9	35,049	14·8	23,695	10·8	353,145	15·3
1915	360,885	*19·4	36,272	15·2	24,154	11·1	421,311	*18·3
1916	279,846	*14·9	31,479	13·1	22,245	10·3	333,570	*14·2
1917	258,360	*13·8	30,486	12·6	21,105	9·7	310,410	*13·3
1918	287,163	*15·3	34,594	14·2	22,570	10·3	344,327	*14·7
1919	369,411	*19·7	44,137	18·0	27,193	12·2	440,741	*18·9

*Based upon total populations specially estimated for the purpose.

The year 1915 was characterised by an enormous increase in marriages, and the years 1916 and 1917 by an abnormal decrease ; for 1919 the figures indicate the highest rate recorded in the list.

DEATHS AND DEATH-RATES.

The total deaths, along with the death-rates per 1,000 of the population for each year during the period 1911–1919 are officially recorded in the following table in which the abnormal figures for 1918 arrest the attention:—

Year.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		United Kingdom.	
	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.	Total Deaths.	Rates.
1911.....	527,810	14·6	71,732	15·1	72,475	16·5	672,017	14·8
1912.....	486,939	13·3	72,340	15·3	72,187	16·5	631,466	13·9
1913.....	504,975	13·8	73,069	15·5	74,694	17·1	652,738	14·3
1914.....	516,742	14·0	73,557	15·5	71,345	16·3	661,644	14·4
1915.....	*562,253	†15·7	81,631	17·1	76,151	17·6	720,035	‡15·6
1916.....	*508,217	†14·4	70,642	14·6	71,391	16·5	650,250	‡14·6
1917.....	*498,955	†14·4	69,481	14·0	72,770	16·7	641,129	‡14·7
1918.....	*611,861	†17·6	78,372	16·0	78,695	18·0	768,928	‡17·4
1919.....	504,203	13·7	75,149	15·4	78,612	17·6	657,964	14·3

* Including deaths of non-civilians.
† Based upon civil deaths and civil population.
‡ Including only civil deaths and population as regards England and Wales.

INFANT MORTALITY.

Contemporaneously with the abnormally low birth-rate during the war period there has been an abnormally low infantile death-rate, as shown by the following figures for England and Wales for the pre-war year and after:—

Year.	Deaths of infants under one year.	Proportion per 1,000 births.	Percentage of total deaths.
1913.....	95,608	108	18·9
1914.....	91,971	105	17·8
1915.....	89,380	110	15·9
1916.....	71,646	91	14·1
1917.....	64,483	96	13·0
1918.....	64,386	97	10·0
1919.....	61,715	89	12·2

The infantile death-rate in 1919 was the lowest on record.

GENERAL DIRECTORY OF SOCIETIES, ORGANISATIONS, &c.

[*Details as to the objects of the following Societies were given in the* 1920 *Edition of the* PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, *to which we would refer readers.*]

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, 40, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: F. S. Graff, O.B.E.

AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE AND COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES AND ALLIED WORKERS (Incorporated in the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers—which see).

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, 14, Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: R. B. Dunwoody, O.B.E., A.M.I.C.E., F.R.G.S.

ASTRONOMICAL ASSOCIATION, BRITISH, 136, Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, London, S.W.4.—Secretaries: Lieut.-Col. Stanley Maxwell, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S., and Major A. E. Levin, R.E. (J.D.). Meetings and Library, Sion College.

ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY, ROYAL, Burlington House, W.1.—Secretaries: A. C. D. Crommelin, B.A., D.Sc., and Rev. T. E. R. Phillips, M.A.; Foreign Secretary: H. H. Turner, D.Sc., D.C.L., F.R.S.

BRIBERY AND SECRET COMMISSIONS' PREVENTION LEAGUE (INCORPORATED), 9, Queen Street Place, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: R. M. Leonard.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, Burlington House, London, W.1.—Secretaries: Professor H. H. Turner, D.Sc., D.C.L., F.R.S., and Professor J. L. Myres, O.B.E., D.Sc.

BRITISH BEE-KEEPERS' ASSOCIATION, 23, Bedford Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Hon. Secretary: W. Herrod-Hempsall.

BRITISH CONSTITUTION ASSOCIATION, THE, Incorporated with The People's League—which see.

BRITISH COTTON GROWING ASSOCIATION, 333-350, Royal Exchange, Manchester.—Secretary: E. H. Oldfield, F.C.I.S.

BRITISH FIRE PREVENTION COMMITTEE, 8, Waterloo Place, London, S.W.1.—Hon. General Secretary: Ellis Marsland.

BRITISH LEGION, 26, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Col. E. C. Heath, D.S.O.

BRITISH SCIENCE GUILD, 6, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Miss A. D. L. Lacey.

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY (now THE COMMUNIST PARTY).

BRITISH UNION FOR ABOLITION OF VIVISECTION, 32, Charing Cross, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: B. E. Kidd.

CHILDREN'S COUNTRY HOLIDAYS FUND, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Miss Ward.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY (INCORPORATED), 50, Marsham Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: Rev. C. F. Tonks.

COAL SMOKE ABATEMENT SOCIETY, 25, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Lawrence W. Chubb.

COBDEN CLUB, Broadway Court, Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: F. J. Shaw.

COMMONS AND FOOTPATHS PRESERVATION SOCIETY, 25, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Lawrence W. Chubb.

COMMUNIST PARTY, 16, King Street, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Albert Inkpin.

CO-OPERATIVE HOLIDAYS ASSOCIATION, 225, Brunswick Street, Manchester.—Secretary: H. P. Weston, M.A.

CREMATION SOCIETY OF ENGLAND, 52, New Cavendish Street, London, W.1.—Secretary: G. A. Noble; Hon. Secretary: J. C. Swinburne-Hanham, J.P.

Divorce Law Reform Union, The, 55-56, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2.—Organising Secretary: Mrs. M. L. Seaton-Tiedeman.

Early Closing Association, 34–40, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: Captain Albert Larking, F.C.I.S.

English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 376–377, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Frederick Verinder.

Eugenics Education Society, 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.2.—Hon. Secretaries: Lady Chambers and R. A. Fisher, M.A.

Fabian Society, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: F. W. Galton.

Folk Lore Society, The, 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: F. A. Milne, M.A.

Food Education Society, (late the National Food Reform Association), Danes Inn House, 265, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Hon. Secretary: C. E. Hecht, M.A., M.C.A.

General Federation of Trade Unions, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: W. A. Appleton, C.B.E.

Hodgson Pratt Memorial, 60, Knatchbull Road, London, S.E.5.—Hon. Secretary: J. J. Dent, C.M.G.

Holiday Fellowship Ltd., "Bryn Corach," Conway, North Wales.—Secretary: T. A. Leonard.

Howard League for Penal Reform, The, 43, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.—Secretary: Cecil Leeson.

Imperial Cancer Research Fund, 8–11, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: F. G. Hallett, O.B.E.

Imperial Sunday Alliance and Sunday Lay Movement (for the Defence of the Institution of Sunday), 8, John Street, Adelphi, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Mr. J. Woodford Causer.

Independent Labour Party, 8–9, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: Francis Johnson.

Industrial League and Council, The, 82, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1. General Secretary: J. Ames.

Industrial Reconstruction Council, The, now amalgamated with the Industrial League and Council.

International Arbitration League, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: F. Maddison.

International Association for Labour Legislation (British Section), 45, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.—Secretary: Miss I. S. A. Beaver.

Invalid Children's Aid Association, 117, Piccadilly, London, W.1.—Secretary: Mrs. Munro.

Labour Co-partnership Association, 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: Ernest W. Mundy, B.A.

Labour Party, The, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

Land Law Reform Association, 8, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Hon. Secretary: Jas. Rowlands, M.P.

Land Reform Council, 9, Albert Square, Manchester.—Secretary: Houghton Diggle.

London Central Young Men's Christian Association, Tottenham Court Road, London, W.C.1.—General Secretary: Frank Carter.

London and Provincial Anti-Vivisection Society, 22a, Regent Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Mrs. E. J. Holland.

London Mathematical Society, Burlington House, London, W.1.—President: H. W. Richmond, M.A., F.R.S. Secretaries: G. H. Hardy, M.A., F.R.S.; G. N. Watson, M.A., F.R.S., D.Sc., Sc.D. Treasurer: A. E. Western, Sc.D.

London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London), Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.—Director: Sir William H. Beveridge, K.C.B., M.A., B.C.L. Secretary: Mrs. Mair, O.B.E., M.A.

London Progressive Union, 41, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Hon. Secretary: H. A. Baker, J.P., L.C.C.

Mental After-care Association, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: Miss E. D. Vickers.

Meteorological Society, Royal, 49, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.7.—Assistant Secretary: A. Hampton Brown.

National Anti-Sweating League, 45, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: J. J. Mallon.

National Anti-Vivisection Society, 92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Acting Secretary: R. Somerville Wood, M.A.

National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, 20, Hanover Square, London, W.1.—Hon. Secretary: J. J. Perkins, M.B., F.R.C.P.

National British Women's Temperance Association (Incorporated), 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Miss G. Hunt.

National Co-operative Managers' Association Ltd., 17, St. Peter's Hill, Grantham.—Secretary:

National Council of Public Morals for Great and Greater Britain, Rhondda House, 60, Gower Street, London, W.C.—Secretary: Rev. James Marchant, LL.D., C.B.E.

National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary, Miss Norah E. Green.

National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.1.—National Secretary: Sir Arthur Yapp, K.B.E.

National Education Association, Caxton House, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: A. J. Mundella.

National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers, (now embodied in the British Legion—which see).

National Federation of Women's Institutes of England and Wales, 26, Eccleston Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Miss Inez Ferguson.

National Guilds League, The, 39, Cursitor Street, London, E.C.4.

National Health Society, 53, Berners Street, London W.1.—Secretary: Miss F. Lankester.

National Home Reading Union, 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Miss Swanson.

National League for Health, Maternity and Child Welfare, 4 & 5, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: Miss J. Halford.

National Peace Council, 19, Buckingham Street, Charing Cross, W.C.2.—Secretary: F. E. Pollard, M.A.

National Reform Union, 5, Cross Street, Manchester.—President: A. G. C. Harvey, J.P., C.C. Secretary: Houghton Diggle.

National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 40, Leicester Square, W.C.2.

National Temperance League, The, Paternoster House, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: John Turner Rae.

National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: S. H. Hamer.

National Union of Allotment Holders, Ltd., 22, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: J. Forbes.

National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, "Oakley," 122, Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester. Joint General Secretaries: J. Hallsworth and W. A. Robinson.

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.—Secretary: Miss Macadam.

National United Temperance Council, 29, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: J. A. Spurgeon.

Parents' National Educational Union, 26, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Peace Society (Established 1816), 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.2.—President: Rt. Hon. Lord Parmoor. Secretary: Rev. Herbert Dunnico, B.A., C.C., J.P.

People's League, The, 4-5, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.

People's League of Health, 7, Hanover Square, London, W.1.—Original Founder and Hon. Organiser: Miss Olga Nethersole.

Proportional Representation Society, 82, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: John H. Humphreys.

Railway Nationalisation Society, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: F. W. Galton. Chairman: Ald. A. Emil Davies, L.C.C.

Reconstruction Society, The, 58 and 60, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: C. H. Dant.

Royal Agricultural Society of England, 16, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: T. B. Turner.

Royal Botanic Society of London, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.—Secretary: Henry W. Woodford.

Royal Humane Society, 4, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: Major F. A. C. Claughton.

Royal National Lifeboat Institution, 22, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: G. F. Shee, M.A.

Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 105, Jermyn Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Captain E. G. Fairholme, O.B.E.

Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: G. K. Menzies, M.A.

Royal Statistical Society, 9, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London, W.C.2.—Assistant Secretary: L. Catharine Thorburn.

Ruskin College, Oxford.—Secretary: F. Smith.

Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society Ltd., 5, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.—Secretary: John Drysdale.

Scottish Home Rule Association, 109, Hope Street, Glasgow.—President: Wm. Gallacher, S.C.W.S. Ltd. Secretary: R. E. Muirhead.

Scottish Temperance League, 226, West George Street, Glasgow.—Secretary: James Gillies.

Social and Political Education League, 5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.—Hon. Secretary: Gerald S. Tetley.

Society for Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, 16 and 17, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.1.—Secretary: Alfred Howe.

Society for the Study of Inebriety, 19, Park Crescent, Portland Place, London, W.1.—President: Sir Alfred Pearce Gould, K.C.V.O., C.B.E., M.S., F.R.C.S. Hon. Treasurer: Arthur Evans, M.S., F.R.C.S. Hon. Secretary: T. N. Kelynack, M.D., J.P.

State Children's Association, 53, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: F. Penrose Philp.

Temperance Legislation League, The, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: A. F. Harvey.

Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, 32, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., J.P.

United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: John Paul.

United Kingdom Alliance, 1, Victoria Street, London, S.W.—Secretary: Geo. B. Wilson, B.A.,

United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 59 and 60, Old Bailey, London, E.C.4.—Director: W. Chandos Wilson. Secretary: W. C. M. Wightman.

Vegetarian Society (National), 39, Wilmslow Road, Rusholme, Manchester.—Secretary: James Hough.

Victoria League, 22, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.—Secretary: Miss Drayton, O.B.E.

Waterways Association, The, 37, Newhall Street, Birmingham.—Secretary: Frank Impey, F.C.A.

Women's Industrial Council.—The Council has suspended its research work for the present, and given up its offices at 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Workers' Educational Association, 16, Harpur Street, Holborn, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: J. M. Mactavish.

Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, 16, Harpur Street, London, W.C.1.—Secretary: J. M. Mactavish.

Working Men's Club and Institute Union, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.1.—Secretary: B. T. Hall.

Working Men's College, Crowndale Road, London, N.W.1.—Secretary: A. A. Aldworth, M.A.

Young Men's Christian Association (*See* London Central Young Men's Christian Association, also National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations).

OTHER SOCIETIES, &c.

The following particulars relate to societies not included in the foregoing Directory.

Alliance of Honour, 112, City Road, London, E.C.1.—President: Lord Algernon Percy, D.L.; Joint Acting Directors: E. E. Bagnall and A. B. Kent.

This society was formed about eighteen years ago with the purpose of spreading knowledge concerning the perils of immorality, and of upholding a high standard of personal purity in life and thought. From very small beginnings it has grown until its operations now extend into about sixty different countries and colonies.

Arts League of Service, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.—President: Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, M.P.; Hon. Organising Secretaries: Miss A. M. Berry, Miss E. M. Elder, and Miss Judith Wogan.

The Arts League of Service hopes to form a nucleus of artists for purposes of co-operation and propaganda, and to offer them a working machinery, which in its various activities will bring them in touch with the general public, and awaken a greater interest in their respective arts. It has so far developed its programme as regards the arts of (1) Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and General Crafts; (2) the Drama.

British Drama League, 10, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.—President: Lord Howard de Walden; Hon. Secretary, Geoffrey Whitworth.

The object of the league is to encourage the art of the theatre, both for its own sake and as a means of intelligent recreation among all classes of the community.

British Institute of Social Service and National Council of Social Service, 33, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.

This society affords information on all matters coming under the heading indicated in its name.

English Association, 2, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.—President: Edmund Gosse, C.B., LL.D.; Secretary: A. V. Houghton.

The association was instituted in 1907 for the purpose of affording opportunities for intercourse and co-operation amongst all those interested in English language and literature, of helping to maintain the correct use of English spoken and written, of promoting the due recognition of English as an essential element in the national

education, and of discussing methods of teaching English, and the correlation of school and university work, and of encouraging and facilitating advanced study in English language and literature. The central body has over 2,000 members, and there are branches of the association in Birmingham, Brighton, various parts of Great Britain, and also in Ceylon, South Africa, South India, Toronto and Wittwatersrand.

Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 3, Gray's Inn Place, Gray's Inn, London, W.C.1.—President: Cecil Harmsworth, M.P.; Secretary: C. B. Purdom.

The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association is an educational body, founded in 1899. It endeavours to secure the improvement of housing conditions, the proper planning of towns and the application of the garden city principle to the development of towns, particularly by the establishment of new industrial centres in rural districts. Information and reports are prepared for the use of manufacturers, workers, municipal authorities, and others. The association is actively engaged in creating an enlightened public opinion throughout the country on town planning.

Industrial Christian Fellowship, Church House, London, S.W.1.—President: Archbishop of Canterbury; General Director: Rev. P. T. R. Kirk.

The Christian Social Union is incorporated in the industrial Christian Fellowship, and thus an old Church society of forty-three years' standing becomes better equipped to meet the needs of modern days. It seeks to unite all classes in a bond of Christian fellowship; to claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule the whole life of humanity and to present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King.

Industrial Welfare Society, 51, Palace Street, Westminster, S.W.1.—President: H.R.H. the Duke of York, K.G.; Chairman: Lord Invernairn. Director: Robert R. Hyde.

The object of the society is to retain for industry itself the responsibility for, and the direction of, Industrial Welfare work. The society assists (1) by discussing schemes of welfare work applicable to particular works and circumstances; (2) by training and recommending suitable persons for positions as welfare supervisors; (3) by supplying welfare supervisors with information regarding various phases of welfare work.
Membership consists of employers of labour and other interested persons.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.—President: Carrie Chapman Catt; Rec. Secretary: Margery Corbett Ashby.

The alliance works for the enfranchisement of the women of all nations and for a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women.

Land Nationalisation Federation, 296, Vauxhall Bridge, London, S.W.1.—President: J. W. Logan, J.P.; Secretary: Joseph Hyder.

This society was established in 1881 equitably to restore the people to the land, and the land to the people.

League of Faith and Labour, 11, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London, E.C.4.—Secretary: Archibald Ramage.

"The League is a new way by which men and women associated with Christian or with Labour movements may together co-operate, in a spirit of fraternity and social equality, to find solutions for the problems of the modern world in harmony with the spiritual basis of human life."—*Extract from Basis.*

London School of Economics and Political Science, Clare Market, Portugal Street, Kingsway, London, W.C.2.—Director: Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B., M.A., B.C.L.; Secretary: Mrs. Mair, O.B.E., M.A.

Founded in 1895, and admitted as a School of the University of London in 1900, the school is open to all, without distinction of sex, class, or denomination. It provides complete courses for the first degrees of B.Sc. in Economics and Bachelor of Commerce; and in co-operation with other colleges for the degrees of Bachelor of Laws and Bachelor of Arts. The lectures and classes at the school are open also to those who have not matriculated and do not wish to pursue a full university course.

Royal Astronomical Society, Burlington House, London, W.1.—President: Prof. A. Fowler, F.R.S.; Secretaries, Dr. A. C. D. Crommelin and the Rev. T. E. R. Phillips; Assistant Secretary: W. H. Wesley.

The society was founded in 1820, for the encouragement and promotion of astronomy and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1831.

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, Kensington Gore, London, S.W.7.—President: Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.; Secretary: Arthur R. Hinks, C.B.E., F.R.S.

Founded in 1830 for the advancement of geographical science. The society publishes the *Geographical Journal* and special works and maps from time to time. Holds meetings for the reading of original papers and discussion; maintains important library, collection of maps, photographs, and drawings; has a fine house in Kensington Gore with accommodation for research in geography; maintains staff of draughtsmen for production of original maps in journal and gives instruction in survey and field astronomy to intending travellers.

ST. JOHN'S AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION, St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1.

This association was founded for the instruction of persons in rendering first aid, and in the transport of the sick and injured, as well as the organisation of ambulance corps and nursing corps. Since its institution in 1877 nearly 1,500,000 certificates of proficiency have been awarded. In many parts of the country boxes containing ambulance appliances have been placed where most needed, and there are now in London twenty-one depots maintained by the association and its supporters. This branch of the work is being developed in provincial towns.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS (Founded by William Morris, 1877), 20, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—Chairman: Thackeray Turner; Secretary: A. R. Powys, A.R.I.B.A.

The Society's object is to prevent the loss of Ancient Buildings either from decay, from restoration, or from alteration. It recommends repair and does so in three distinct ways: (1) By giving advice to the owners or guardians of ancient buildings; (2) by making public protest when it learns that a building is being neglected, or misused, or tampered with; (3) by providing lectures on this subject on reasonable terms. It publishes annually a report of its work, price 2s.; has various leaflets for sale, together with the book "Notes on Repair," and a pamphlet on the treatment of old cottages.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH.

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION: STATISTICAL AND TRADE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, HANOVER STREET, MANCHESTER.

This department has been in existence for some years. Up to recently it was responsible only for the preparation of the Union's annual and general statistics, and for their proper analysis and presentation in the most useful form. As a result of the Survey Committee's report the scope of the department was widened, and now "it undertakes research work of a kind calculated to give assistance in the solution of co-operative business and other problems, and is prepared to give advice to societies regarding the administration of new departments and the improvement and efficiency of existing departments." This new branch of the Union's activities also collects information regarding trade developments and, by preparing suitable reports, gives a useful lead to the development of co-operative activities of various kinds.

THE RUSSO-BRITISH CO-OPERATIVE INFORMATION BUREAU.—99, LEMAN STREET, LONDON, E.1. British Secretary: FREDERICK ROCKELL.

The bureau, which is a joint committee of the English, Scottish, and Irish Wholesale Societies, together with Russian co-operative organisations having establishments in London, was instituted to gather information of use to the development of international co-operative trade; and especially with the object of promoting the exchange of productions between the Co-operative Wholesale Societies of the United Kingdom and the great co-operative producing and trading organisations of Russia.

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, 34, ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1. Secretary: R. PAGE ARNOT.

The Labour Research Department, which began as a section of the Fabian Society, has been in existence for eight years. In 1916, the constitution was altered to admit the affiliation of trade unions and Labour and Co-operative organisations. The department is governed by its members and affiliated societies, which are divided among the following sections: Trade Union Survey, Co-operative Section, Trades Council and Local Labour Parties Section and General Section. In addition, there are sections dealing with Labour abroad and international problems, the Organisation of Capital, Local Government, and Women in Industry.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Hon. Secretary: E. R. Pease; General Secretary: F. W. Galton.

Among the society's activities (in which it places its services unreservedly at the disposal of the Labour Party and the local Labour parties all over the country, the trade unions and trades councils, and all other Labour and Socialist organisations) may be mentioned:—

Free lectures by its members and officers;

Answers to questions from members of local authorities and others on legal, technical or political matters of local government, &c.;

Special subscription courses of lectures on new developments in thought;

Economic and social investigation and research, and publication of the results.

Book Boxes on loan to Co-operative Societies, Trade Unions, &c.

Lists of publications, annual report, form of application as member or associate, and any other information can be obtained on application personally or by letter to the secretary at the above address.

I.L.P. INFORMATION COMMITTEE, 5, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.—Secretary: E. E. Hunter.

Formed in April, 1919, to supply members of the independent Labour Party with up-to-date information on economic and political questions useful for propaganda work. Issues each Thursday "Weekly Notes for Speakers," containing full outline of facts and figures relevant to the outstanding issue of the week. Also collects information, and answers enquiries, on all important economic and political issues. Also assists I.L.P. Members of Parliament with material for use in debates, &c., and keeps voting records of all Members of Parliament. Prepares pamphlets for publication through I.L.P., &c.

LIBRARIES.

THE CO-OPERATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY, The Plunkett House, Dublin.

Founded in 1914. Contains works dealing with co-operation in all countries, and undertakes research work in co-operative economics.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Hon. Secretary: E. R. Pease; General Secretary: F. W. Galton.

The society lends out the well-known Fabian Book Boxes, each containing about three dozen of the best books on economics, politics and social problems, which can be obtained by any organisation of men or women for 15s. per annum, covering an exchange of books every three months.

NATIONAL GUILDS LEAGUE, 39, Cursitor Street, London, E.C.4.

Members of trade union branches, trades councils, professional organisations, Socialist societies, and other recognised Labour bodies, may borrow any book on the League's list for a period of one month on payment of 6d. per volume to cover postage. Applications should be addressed to the Literature Secretary, The National Guilds League, 39, Cursitor Street, London, E.C.4, and *must come through and be signed* by the Secretary of the organisation of which the borrower is a member. The organisation will be held responsible for the return of the book.

DR. WILLIAMS' LIBRARY, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

Dr. Williams' Library (founded in 1716 by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Williams) is primarily a Theological Library intended for the use of ministers, students, and other persons engaged in the study of theology, ecclesiastical history, comparative religion, and kindred subjects. It will also be found useful to students of history, philosophy, economics, the history of language and literature, and classical literature both ancient and modern. The library does NOT supply fiction, nor books on mathematics, natural history, physical science, or medicine; nor does it supply school text books or class books.

Persons desiring to use the library must fill up and sign a form of application, which may be obtained from the Librarian, and provide the guarantees specified on the form. Tickets cannot be granted to persons under eighteen years of age except by special permission of the trustees. There is no subscription.

THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY.

The following is the official list of members for the House of Commons :—

ADAMSON, Rt. Hon. W. (Fife, Western), 6, Victoria Street, Dunfermline.
BARKER, GEO. (Mon., Abertillery), 116, Alexandra Road, Abertillery.
BELL, J. (Lancaster, Ormskirk), 116, Belgrave Road, Oldham.
BOWERMAN, Rt. Hon. C. W. (Deptford), 4, Battledean Road, Highbury, N.5.
BROMFIELD, W. (Stafford, Leek), Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek, Staffs.
BROWN, JAMES (Ayr and Bute, S. Ayrshire), 56, Annbank-by-Ayr, Scotland.
CAIRNS, JOHN (Morpeth), 16, The Drive, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
CAPE, THOMAS (Cumberland, Workington), 91, Harrington Road, Workington.
CARTER, WILLIAM (Nottingham, Mansfield), 8, Berridge Road, Sherwood Rise, Nottingham.
CLYNES, Rt. Hon. J. R. (Manchester, Platting), 41, St. John's Road, Putney, London, S.W.15.
DAVIES, A. (Lancashire, Clitheroe), Moorfield Terrace, Hollingworth, near Manchester.
DAVIES, EVAN (Monmouth, Ebbw Vale), Caerwent, Ebbw Vale, Mon.
DAVIES, R. J., 9, Booth Avenue, Withington, Manchester.
DAVISON, J. E. (Smethwick), 32, Cottingham Street, Attercliffe, Sheffield.
EDWARDS, CHARLES (Monmouth, Bedwellty), Stafford House, Gelli Crescent, Risca, Mon.
EDWARDS, GEORGE (Norfolk, S.), 7, Lichfield St., Queen's Road, Fakenham, Norfolk.
FINNEY, S. (Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem), Miners' Office, Burslem, Staffs.
GILLIS, W. (Penistone), 35, Chapel Street, Hoyland Common, Barnsley, Yorks.
GRAHAM, DUNCAN (Lanark, Hamilton), Gowrie House, Bothwell Road, Hamilton, N.B.
GRAHAM, ROBINSON (Nelson and Colne), 13 Block, Rose Hill Estate, Burnley.
GRAHAM, WILLIAM (Edinburgh, Central), 105, Sunny Gardens, Hendon, N.W.4.
GRIFFITHS, THOMAS (Monmouth, Pontypool), 45, Lewis Road, Neath.
GRUNDY, T. W. (York, W.R., Rother Valley), 15, Godstone Road, Rotherham.
GUEST, J. (York, W.R., Hemsworth), "The Eders," South Heindley, Barnsley.
HALL, FREDERICK (York, W.R., Normanton), 26, Victoria Road, Barnsley.
HALLAS, ELDRED (Birmingham, Duddeston), 16-18, Institute Road, King's Heath, Birmingham.
HALLS, WALTER (Heywood and Radcliffe), 43, Henry Road, West Bridgford, Notts.
HARTSHORN, VERNON (Glamorgan, Ogmore), Hill Crest, Maesteg, Glam.
HAYDAY, ARTHUR (Nottingham, West), 1, St. James, Nottingham.
HENDERSON, Rt. Hon. A. (Lancs., Widnes), 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.
HIRST, G. H. (York, W.R., Wentworth), Church Street, Darfield, near Barnsley.
HODGE, Rt. Hon. J. (Manchester, Gorton), 76, Swinton Street, London, W.C.1.
IRVING, DAN (Burnley), Sunbrilo, 80, Glen View Road, Burnley.
JOHN, WILL (Rhondda, West), Glas Bryn, 156, Kenry St., Tonypandy, Rhondda, S.W.
JONES, MORGAN (Caerphilly), 21, Park Crescent, Bargoed.
JONES, J. J. (West Ham, Silvertown), 28, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.
KENNEDY, TOM (Kirkcaldy), 19, Belvoir Road, East Dulwich, London, S.E.22.
LAWSON, JOHN J. (Durham, Chester-le-Street), 6, Twyzell Lane, Beamish, Co. Durham.
LUNN, W. (York, W.R., Rothwell), Westleigh, Rothwell, Leeds, Yorks.
MACLEAN, NEIL (Glasgow, Govan), 181, St. Andrew's Road, Pollokshields, Glasgow.
MILLS, J. (Dartford), 290, Well Hall Road, Eltham, London, S.E.9.
MORGAN, Major D. WATTS (Rhondda, East), Caemwr, Porth, Glam.
MYERS, T. (Spen Valley), Brewery Lane, Thornhill Lees, Dewsbury, Yorks.
O'GRADY, Capt. J. (Leeds, South-East), 60, Cavendish Rd., Clapham Common, S.W.13.
PARKINSON, J. A. (Wigan), "Glenthorne," Oriell Mount, nr. Wigan.
RICHARDSON, R. (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring), St. Ardan's Terrace, New Herrington, Fence Houses, Co. Durham.
ROBERTS, F. O. (West Bromwich), 61, Collingwood Road, Northampton.
ROBERTSON, J. (Bothwell, Lanark), Cadzowburn House, Hamilton, Scotland.
ROSE, FRANK (Aberdeen, North), "The Cedars," 37, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.2.
ROYCE, W. S. (Holland with Boston), Pinchbeck Hall, Spalding.
SEXTON, JAMES (St. Helens), 17, Norton Street, Liverpool.

Shaw, Thomas (Preston), 243, Keighley Road, Colne, Lancs.
Short, A. (Wednesbury), House of Commons, London, E.C.3.
Sitch, C. H. (Stafford, Kingswinford), 1, Whitehall Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs.
Smith, W. R., (Northampton, Wellingborough), Belle Vue, Old Catton, Norwich.
Spencer, G. (Nottingham, Broxtowe), 39, Langtry Grove, Nottingham.
Spoor, B. C. (Durham, Bishop Auckland), Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial St., London, E.1.
Swan, J. E. (Durham, Barnard Castle), Dipton, S.O., Co. Durham.
Thomas, Rt. Hon. J. H. (Derby), Unity House, Euston Road, N.W.1.
Thorne, W. (West Ham, Plaistow), 28, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.
Tillett, B. (Salford, North), Effingham House, Arundel Street, W.C.2.
Tootill, R. (Bolton), "Westfield," 2nd Avenue, Blackpool.
Walsh, Stephen (Lancaster, Ince), 8, Swinley Road, Wigan.
Waterson, A. E. (Northampton, Kettering), 34, Harcourt Road, Alexandra Park, Wood Green, London, N.22.
Wedgwood, Col. J. C. (Newcastle-under-Lyme), 12, Beaufort House, Beaufort Street, London, S.W.3.
Wignall, J. (Gloucester, Forest of Dean), 17, Fawnbrake Av., Herne Hill, S.E.24.
Wilkie, A. (Dundee), 36, Lesbury Road, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Williams, J. (Glamorgan, Gower), Godrer Bryn, Sketty, Swansea.
Wilson, Jas. (Dudley), 40, Lynwood Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Young, Robert (Lancaster, Newton), 213, Barry Road, East Dulwich, London, S.E.

OFFICERS.

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Vice Chairmen: Stephen Walsh, M.P., J. C. Wedgwood, M.P.
Chief Whip: Rt. Hon. A. Henderson, M P.
Junior Whips: F. Hall, M.P., W. R. Smith, M.P., T. Griffiths, M.P., T. Kennedy, M.P.
Secretary: H. S. Lindsay, Labour Party, House of Commons.

The Party meets every Tuesday at 1-45 p.m. The Policy Committee meets every day. Telegraphic Address: "Labour Party, Commons, London." Telephone No.: 6240 Victoria, Extension 151.

LABOUR PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

	Trade Unions.		Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties.		Socialist Societies. Membership.	*Total.
	No.	Membership.	No.	No.		
1900–1	41	353,070	7	3	22,861	375,931
1901–2	65	455,450	21	2	13,861	469,311
1902–3	127	847,315	49	2	13,835	861,150
1903–4	165	956,025	76	2	13,775	969,800
1904–5	158	855,270	73	2	14,730	900,000
1905–6	158	904,496	73	2	16,784	921,280
1906–7	176	975,182	83	2	20,885	998,338
1907	181	1,049,673	92	2	22,267	1,072,413
1908	176	1,127,035	133	2	27,465	1,158,565
1909	172	1,450,648	155	2	30,982	1,486,308
1910	151	1,394,402	148	2	31,377	1,430,539
1911	141	1,501,783	149	2	31,404	1,539,092
1912	130	1,858,178	146	2	31,237	1,895,498
1913	†	†	158	2	33,304	†
1914	101	1,572,391	179	2	33,230	1,612,147
1915	111	2,053,735	177	2	32,838	2,093,365
1916	119	2,170,782	199	3	42,190	2,219,764
1917	123	2,415,383	239	3	47,140	2,465,131
1918–9	131	2,960,409	389	4	52,720	3,013,129
1919	126	3,464,020	418	7	47,270	3,511,290
1920	—	4,215,404	—	5	41,270	4,256,674

* This column includes the membership of the Co-operative and Women's Labour League affiliations, in addition to those of the Trade Unions and Socialist Societies.

† Owing to the operation of the Osborne judgment it was impossible to compile membership statistics for 1913.

A YEAR'S BYE-ELECTIONS.

THE results of the Bye-elections contested by the Labour Party within the twelve months November, 1919-1920, are as follows :—

SALOP (WREKIN).

Townshend, Gen. (Ind.)	14,565
Duncan, Chas. (Lab.)	10,600
Ind. Majority	3,965

MON. (ABERTILLERY).

Barker, Geo. (Lab.)	15,492
Morgan, C. Hay (C.L.)	7,842
Lab. Majority	7,650

GLAM. (RHONDDA WEST).

John, Wm. (Lab.)	14,035
Rowlands, G. (C.U.)	9,959
Lab. Majority	4,076

EAST WOOLWICH.

Gee, Capt., V.C. (C.U.)	13,724
Macdonald, J. R. (Lab.)	13,041
C.U. Majority	683

DUDLEY.

Wilson, J. (Lab.)	10,244
Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A. (C.U.)	9,968
Lab. Majority	276

KIRKCALDY.

Kennedy, Tom (Lab.)	11,674
Lockhart, Sir Robert	10,199
Lab. Majority	1,475

PENISTONE (Yorks., W.R.).

Gillis, Ald. W. (Lab.)	8,560
Pringle, W. M. R. (Ind. Lib.)	7,984
Hinchliffe (C. Lib.)	7,123
Lab. Majority	576

TAUNTON.

Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A. (C.U.)	12,994
Lunnon, James (Lab.)	8,290
C.U. Majority	4,704

BEDFORD.

Kellaway, F. G. (C.L.)	14,397
Riley, F. F. (Lab.)	9,731
C.L. Majority	4,666

HASTINGS.

Percy, Lord Eustace (C.U.)	11,685
Davis, R. (Lab.)	5,437
Blackman, A.	4,240
C.U. Majority	6,248

HEYWOOD AND RADCLIFFE.

Halls, Walter (Lab.)	13,430
England, Col. (C.L.)	13,125
Pickstone, C. (I.L.)	5,671
Lab. Majority	305

CAERPHILLY.

Jones, Morgan (Lab.)	13,699
Rees Edmunds, W. (C. Lib.)	8,958
Stewart, Robert (Communist)	2,592
Lab. Majority	4,741

LOUTH (LINCS.).

Wintringham, Mrs. (Ind. Lib.)	8,386
Hutchings, Sir Alan (C.)	7,595
George, Lt. J. L. (Lab.)	3,873
Ind. Lib. Majority	791

WESTHOUGHTON (LANCS.).

Davies, Rhys J. (Lab.)	14,876
Tonge, Jas. (C. Lib.)	10,867
Lab. Majority	4,009

THE results of other Bye-elections in 1921 (not contested by the Labour Party) are as follows :—

Hereford (C.U. Majority 2,259) ; Dover (Anti-Waste Majority 3,130) ; Cardiganshire (C.Lib. Majority 3,590) ; Bewdley (C.U. Majority 12,857) ; Penrith and Cockermouth (Ind. Lib. Majority 31) ; St. George's, Westminster (Ind. Majority 1,888) ; Hertford (Ind. Anti-Waste Majority 6,776) ; Abbey, Westminster (Ind. U. Majority 1,234) ; West Lewisham (C.U. Majority 847).

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1921.

The following are the Labour results as tabulated in the "Daily Herald."

Labour seats vacated	190
Retained by Labour.....	154
Losses	36
Anti-Labour seats captured.....	80
Net Gain.....	44

Birmingham and Barnsley headed the list with 6 Labour gains each; Sheffield and Norwich coming next with 5 each, and then Brighton, Stoke, and Warrington with 4 each. The chief losses were in Liverpool and Glasgow (6 each), and in Manchester and Birkenhead (4 each).

IRISH ELECTIONS, 1921.

At the elections for the Northern Parliament there were returned 40 Unionists, 6 Sinn Feiners, and 6 Nationalists.

At the elections for the Southern Parliament all the seats except four were gained by Sinn Fein without opposition. The four exceptions were the seats in Trinity College for which four Unionists were elected.

The Southern Parliament has been prorogued for an indefinite period owing to the boycott by Sinn Fein; and as regards the Northern it has been stated that the minority of Sinn Feiners and Nationalists have shown no disposition to attend.

SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS.

At the elections (in February, 1921) to the Lower House of Legislature, the South African Party (led by General Smuts) won 78 seats, the Nationalists 43, and the Labour Party 9. One Independent was also elected.

At the elections to the South African Senate 17 representatives of the South African Party were returned, along with 13 Nationalists, and 2 members of the Labour Party.

THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS.

At the general elections in May, 1921, the members elected to the Chamber of Deputies were as follows: Constitutionalists, Fascists, &c., 273; Socialists, 123; Communists, 15; Catholic People's Party (Popolari), 106; Republicans, 7; Slavs and Germans, 9.

The Socialists and Communists lost 18 seats, whilst the Popolari gained 8.

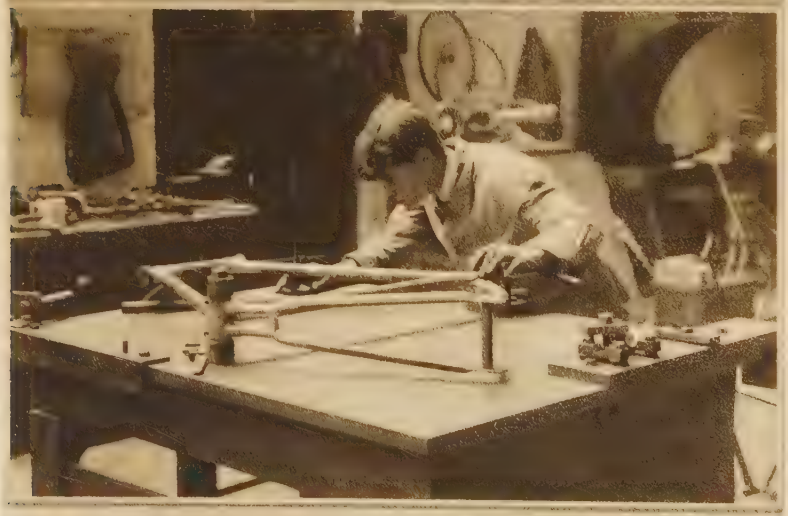
MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury (£5,000)	D. Lloyd George.
Lord President of the Council (£2,000)	A. J. Balfour.
Lord Privy Seal (£5,000)	Austen Chamberlain.
Lord High Chancellor (£10,000)	Lord Birkenhead.
Chancellor of the Exchequer (£5,000)	Sir Robert Horne.
Home Secretary (£5,000)	E. Shortt, K.C.
Foreign Secretary (£5,000)	Lord Curzon.
Colonial Secretary (£5,000)	Winston Churchill.
Secretary for India (£5,000)	E. S. Montagu.
Secretary for War (£5,000)	Sir L. Worthington Evans, Bt.
Chief Secretary for Ireland (£4,425)	Sir Hamar Greenwood, Bt.
First Lord of the Admiralty (£4,500)	Lord Lee.
Secretary for Scotland (£2,000)	R. Munro, K.C.
President of the Board of Agriculture (£2,000)	Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen.
President of the Board of Trade (£5,000)	Stanley Baldwin.
President of the Board of Education (£2,000)	H. A. L. Fisher.
Minister of Labour (£2,000)	T. J. Macnamara.
Minister of Health (£5,000)	Sir A. Mond, Bt.

OTHER CHIEF OFFICERS OF STATE.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (£20,000)	Viscount Fitzalan.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (£2,000)	Viscount Peel.
First Commissioner of Works (£2,000)	Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.
Attorney-General (£6,000)	Sir Gordon Hewart, K.C.
Solicitor-General (£5,000)	Sir Ernest Pollock, K.C.
Lord Advocate for Scotland (£5,000)	T. B. Morison, K.C.
Postmaster-General (£2,500)	F. G. Kellaway.
Paymaster-General (unpaid)	Sir J. Tudor Walters.
Minister of Pensions (£2,000)	J. I. Macpherson, K.C.
Admiralty, Parly., and Financial Sec. (£2,000)	Lt.-Com. L. S. Amery.
Admiralty, Civil Lord of (£1,000)	Com. B. M. Eyres-Monsell.
Home Department Under-Secretary for (£1,500)	Sir J. L. Baird, Bt.
Foreign Office, Under-Secretaries (£2,000)	Cecil Harmsworth and Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame.
War, Under-Secretary for (£2,000)	Sir Robt. Sanders, Bt.
War Office, Financial Secretary (£1,500)	Hon. G. F. Stanley.
Colonies, Under-Secretary for (£1,500)	Major E. F. L. Wood.
India, Under-Secretary for (£1,500)	Earl of Lytton.
Agriculture, Parly. Sec. to Board of (£1,200)	Earl of Ancaster.
Board of Trade, Parly. Secs. to (£1,500)	Sir W. Mitchell Thompson and W. C. Bridgeman.
Board of Education, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200)	J. Herbert Lewis.
Ministry of Pensions, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200)	Major G. C. Tryon.
Ministry of Labour, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200)	Sir Montague Barlow.
Treasury, Financial Secretary to (£2,000)	Lt.-Com. E. Hilton Young.
Treasury, Joint Parly. Secs. to (£2,000)	C. McCurdy and Lt.-Col. L. Wilson.
Treasury, Lords of the	Sir J. Gilmour, Bt. (£1,000); J. Parker (£1,000); Towyn Jones (unpaid); Sir W. Sutherland.
Air Board, Under-Secretary to (£1,200)	Lord Gorell.
Assistant Postmaster-General (£1,200)	H. Pike Pease.
Vice-Pres. of Dept. of Agriculture, Ireland (£1,350)	Hugh T. Barrie.
Ministry of Health, Parly. Sec. to (£1,200)	Earl of Onslow.

Strawberry Jam: Co-operative from Start to Finish.
CWS Pictures from Roden Fruit Farms, and Reading and Middleton Preserve Works.



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lady, thy rich leas
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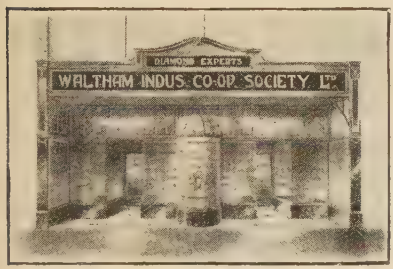

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